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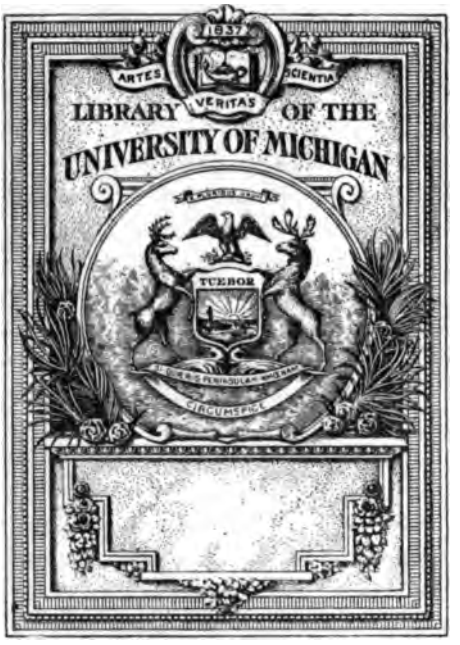
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TWO BIOGRAPHIES

OF

WILLIAM BEDELL

London: C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
AVE MARIA LANE.

Glasgow: 50, WELLINGTON STREET.

Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.
Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

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TWO BIOGRAPHIES

OF

WILLIAM BEDELL

BISHOP OF KILMORE

WITH A SELECTION OF HIS LETTERS AND
AN UNPUBLISHED TREATISE

EDITED WITH NOTES AND INDEX

BY

E. S. SHUCKBURGH, M.A.
EMMANUEL COLLEGE

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1902

Cambridge:
PRINTED BY J. AND C. F. CLAY,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

PREFACE.

ON whichever side we elect to stand in regard to the controversies of the seventeenth century, we must feel, I think, that the men who took part in them were sincere. Theological definitions and dogmatic refinements which have now for most only an academic interest, were to them matters of life and death. Questions of Church Government, long ago settled, or at any rate indefinitely postponed, loomed so large in the eyes of the men of that time, that they became a chief element in the storm which was soon to overwhelm for a while both throne and Church; and the stern reality of the struggle does something to excuse the violent tone of much of the controversial writing of the day. The subject of these memoirs lived to see the storm begin in Scotland though not its final outburst in England: he was a witness of the evils in their acutest form which caused Ireland to be the scene of an outbreak that did much to precipitate the upheaval in England. Through all his life he had been busily engaged in trying to find a means of reconciling contending views in Theology. His standpoint was that of the Student and Scholar, always hoping against hope that some solution might be found which would satisfy all reasonable men. But there comes a period in controversy when reason and compromise cease to be of avail. Thus it happened that before he had been many months in his grave all the laborious arguments

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and suggestions of Bedell were out of date. *Inter arma silet ratio.* Still they have an historical interest: nor can it ever be too late to admire learning and devotion to truth, particularly when, as in Bedell's case, they are joined with courage and charity. He exercised a singular fascination over those with whom he came in contact. 'This is the man'—says Sir H. Wotton—'whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart, from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all Divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had ever practised in his days.' And though till within a few months of his death he was not brought into any circumstances of striking difficulty to test his character, yet he was for many years in positions which gave him the opportunity of shewing his sterling qualities, and of sufficient importance to make it worth our while to learn what manner of man he was.

October 1902

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INTRODUCTION.

OF the two Lives of Bedell here presented to the reader the first is from the pen of the Bishop's son, William Bedell. It has already been published by Professor Mayor (1871), and has also been admirably edited by Thomas Wharton Jones, F.R.S., for the Camden Society (1872). The second is by the Rev. Alexander Clogie, married to Leah Mawe, a step-daughter of the Bishop, whose chaplain he became in 1629, and with whom he remained until Bedell's death at Loughoughter (7 Feb. 1642). He was afterwards Rector of Wigmore, in Herefordshire, and supplied Bishop Burnet with the materials for his life of Bedell[1]. The biography itself, however, was not published till 1862 by W. Walter Wilkins, under the title of "Memoirs of the Life and Episcopate of W. Bedell." Two written copies of this exist, in the Bodleian Library, and the Harleian MSS in the British Museum. The text here given is that of the Tanner MSS, and Professor Mayor, who prepared it for the press, has subjoined the variations found in the text of the Harleian MS.

To these biographies are now subjoined a number of the Bishop's letters, preserved in various places, and copies of which Professor Mayor had caused to be taken, as well as a treatise "On the Efficiency of Grace" addressed to Dr John Richardson, Dean of Derry. Professor Mayor had intended to see this book through the press and to add notes and explanations. Prevented by numerous more important engagements from fulfilling his intention he handed over the materials collected to the Master and Fellows of Bedell's old College, Emmanuel, who honoured me with the request that I would carry out Professor Mayor's intention. This task, undertaken perhaps too rashly, is at length completed: and the reader

[1] For an account of Clogie see Jones, pp. 211—220, who prints a letter to Archbishop Sancroft, sending him a copy of the Life and other papers of Bedell dated 9 June, 1679.

has in this volume not only the text of the two biographies of Bedell, but such a collection of his correspondence as may serve to illustrate his character, as well as to throw light on some interesting points of history and on some of the religious controversies which agitated the minds of theologians of the seventeenth century.

William Bedell (1571—1642) came of yeoman stock and was born at Black Notley, in Essex. His father and grandfather were both strongly religious and more or less Puritan. He naturally therefore was sent to the new foundation of Emmanuel, which Sir Walter Mildmay had intended to be the nursing place for Protestant divines. He was entered in the very first year of the foundation of that College (1584), and though a mere boy seems quickly to have gained reputation for piety, industry, and learning. He went through the regular University Course; was elected a Scholar of his College in March 1585, proceeded B.A. and M.A. (1588, 1592) and was elected a Fellow in the next year (1593). In College he was 'Catechetical Lecturer,' and, as appears from the College accounts, acted for a time as Bursar. The Fellows of Emmanuel could not continue at that time beyond the standing of D.D., and in 1602 Bedell accepted the living of St Mary's, Bury St Edmunds.

So far Bedell had only followed the usual course, and though he had a high reputation in Cambridge for his accomplishments, not only in Divinity, but also in Oriental languages, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, he was little known elsewhere. But he was destined to occupy three positions which brought him into close connexion with events of more than local interest, and which at times put his character to a severe test. I think the general verdict will be that he came out of the ordeal with honour. In the ecclesiastical affairs which he had to manage he was scarcely ever free from controversy and often engaged in downright litigation. But in every instance it is clear that he was on the side of equity and honesty, and was fighting against corruption and oppression. This will appear most strongly in his episcopal government in Ireland, but it was the same in his resistance to the extortionate officers of the Bishop of Norwich, to the encroachments upon Church property at

Horningsheath, and to the maladministration of the property of Trinity College, Dublin.

Throughout these scenes of business and struggle there is another side of his character always in view. He was deeply interested in those theological problems which specially occupied the thoughts of the Elizabethan and Jacobean divines. Freewill and the Efficiency of Grace, the part that each man played in his own 'conversion,' the eternal paradox in fact of Moral and Spiritual responsibility, continually employed his thoughts and his pen. That he did not solve the insoluble will doubtless be allowed; but the spirit in which he approached these problems and the charity with which he treated opponents—all too rare in all religious controversy, but notably so in the 17th century—will not fail to strike the reader. The difference of his spirit in this respect is manifested in a volume of letters, etc. to Wadsworth, the English clergyman, who going to Spain as chaplain to the English ambassador was converted to the Roman Faith. A comparison between the tone of his letters and those of Joseph Hall will serve to bring out this amiable side of his character.

Nevertheless he was a sturdy champion of the Anglican position, and eagerly seized any chance which seemed to present itself of detaching individuals or communities from allegiance to Rome. This is illustrated by the first stirring event in his life. In 1607 he was invited to fill up a vacancy among the Chaplains of Sir Henry Wotton, then ambassador at Venice. The offer was particularly attractive to a man of his views, for at that time there seemed every chance that the Republic of Venice would break away from communion with Rome. The relations between the Republic and the Holy See had long been strained by quarrels as to ecclesiastical claims, and by controversies arising from territorial, fiscal, or other subjects of dispute. In 1605 Paul V. (Camillo Borghese) became Pope, whose ideas as to the illimitable nature of Papal prerogatives were as great as those of Hildebrand himself; and it was not long before the policy of the Republic provoked his active hostility. Edicts forbidding the erection of new churches in Venice without license from the Government, and prohibiting fresh endowments of ecclesiastical establishments, had recently

been promulgated. They were, like our own mortmain Acts, the necessary means of preventing the occupation of such a limited site as that of Venice by buildings dedicated to a particular purpose, especially such as claimed exemption from ordinary fiscal burdens. The Edicts however were naturally offensive to the Roman court, and presently a new offence was caused by the arrest and imprisonment of two clerics, notoriously guilty of atrocious crimes. The Pope demanded their release and submission to his own jurisdiction. And when the Venetian Senate refused—under the leadership of a new and able Doge, Leonardo Donato,—the Pope promulgated a Bull of Interdict (17 April, 1606).

The Senate met this violent proceeding with calmness but energy. They recalled their ambassador from Rome; ordered their clergy to surrender with seals unbroken all despatches sent them from the Vatican; proclaimed it to be the duty of good citizens to give up all copies of the Bull; and issued a protest declaring the Interdict to be null and void, and forbidding ecclesiastics to obey it. The Doge also told the Papal Nuncio that the Republic might perhaps follow the example of some other states and withdraw from all connexion with the Holy See. The Venetian Government was encouraged in its resistance by the ambassadors of other countries, such as France and Tuscany, and most of the clergy in Venice elected to stand by their own state. The Jesuits attempted a compromise, by offering to perform all services except the Mass, and their example was followed by the Capucins. These two orders were consequently expelled from Venice, and their property was confiscated. The controversy went on for many months, with threats on the part of the Pope to denounce the Doge to the Inquisition, with stout retorts on the part of the Venetian Government, with the usual storm of pamphlets from controversialists on either side, the leading divine against the Republic being Bellarmine; for it Fra Paolo Sarpi, the celebrated historian of the Council of Trent. The Pope, encouraged by promises from Spain, even contemplated an armed invasion of Venetian territory. But eventually France interposed, and an ambassador extraordinary (Cardinal de Joyeuse) arrived with full powers to heal the breach. On the 21st of April, 1607,

a curious compromise was arranged. The two ecclesiastical prisoners were given up to de Joyeuse, who transferred them to the Papal nuncio, who in his turn committed them to the Venetian Ten. The *amour propre* of both sides being thus saved, the Interdict was declared to be removed and the Cardinal celebrated Mass. The Venetian Government had practically gained everything and were inclined to avoid further controversy. The hopes therefore entertained by the Protestants in England of seeing a great defection from Rome were at an end before Bedell arrived in Venice. But the movement towards Protestantism had affected individuals, and Bedell was able to make or confirm certain converts, as Despotine, who accompanied him back to England, and some others. He also became intimate with Sarpi, whose history of the Interdict (as well as part of his history of the Council of Trent and another pamphlet) he translated into Latin, and he was in Venice when the attempt upon Sarpi's life took place. His letters here printed will shew the interest which he took in what he hoped was a reform movement in Venice, and the zeal with which he pushed on the Italian translation of the English Prayer Book.

Bedell returned to England in 1610, and for the next sixteen years continued the life of a country clergyman of the more learned and accomplished kind, adding to his parochial duties various literary work, translations from Paolo, controversy with Waddesworth, doctrinal discussions and correspondence with his friend Ward, Master of Sidney. These years also saw his marriage with the widow Mrs Leah Mawe, the birth of his children and his own change from St Mary's, Bury St Edmunds —which he found too large for his rather feeble voice—to the country parish of Horningsheath (1616), as well as his service in Convocation in 1623. Of his connexion with Horningsheath the following details were given some years ago by Lord Arthur Hervey, at that time rector.

"The correct name of the parish is great Horningsworth. But Little Horn*ins*worth has been consolidated with it since 1528. The two parishes are now commonly called as one, 'Horringer.' There has only been one Church and one Glebe House for two or three hundred years past, I believe. Horringer is now consolidated with Ickworth. The Church and perhaps the Parsonage are the same as in Bedell's time, but the Church is much altered.

"The Registers of Baptisms, Burials, and Marriages during the time of Bedell's residence at Horringer are all written in his handwriting, in a beautiful, clear and firm character. The Register is kept with the utmost neatness and regularity and he seems to have been never absent. The second entry of burials in his handwriting is that of his distinguished predecessor Thomas Rogers, buried the two and twentieth day of February 1615 (1616 N. S.).

"All the preceding registers in the book from the beginning are in Rogers' handwriting, beginning with 1558, and the title in the same hand, written at the head, writes the name of the parish *Horningsher, alias Horningsheath Magna.*

"Though my family were not at that time patrons of Horringer, it so happens that the then owner of Ickworth, Sir William Hervey, Knt., had for his first wife Susan, daughter of Sir Robert and sister of Sir Thomas Jermyn, Bedell's patron. But there are no letters or other memorials of the intercourse that must probably have existed between Ickworth and Horringer. The principal parishioners of Horringer at the time were the Lucas's of Horsecroft (a hamlet in Great Horringer) and the Blayges of Little Horringer Hall, a family that intermarried with the Jermyns, and one of whom was well known somewhat later as Mrs Godolphin, whose life was written by Evelyn, and edited by the present Bishop of Oxford. Possibly Bedell's preaching at Horringer may have sown the seeds of piety in the Blayge family. I see many entries in the Register of the Blagge family in Bedell's handwriting.

"Of Bedell's family I notice among the burials '1624 Grace the daughter of William Bedell the five and twentieth of April';—and among the baptisms '1618 (1619) Ambrose[1] Bedell the sonne of William Bedell the one and twentieth of March'."

A great change came upon his life in 1627, when on the recommendation of Archbishop Ussher he was nominated by the Crown to succeed Sir William Temple as Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. The Senior Fellows had elected one man, and the Juniors another, and therefore although the nomination of the Crown was accepted, and his formal election took place on the 16th August (1627), he came to a college in which there had been considerable contest and division of opinion. He found moreover that the discipline was much relaxed, the revenues ill maintained and ill applied, and the Fellows far from careful in performing their duties. He was only Provost for two years, but in that time he appears to have instituted many reforms. He drew up with his own hand a copy of the Statutes (until then imperfectly kept on loose

[1] "Quære so named from Ambrose Blagye, Esqr."

papers and often ignored), still preserved in the Library, he reformed the services in chapel and the system of lectures, and above all he insisted on instruction in Irish, especially for those who proposed to be clergymen, and set on foot or encouraged the scheme for the translation of the Bible and Prayer Book into Irish[1]. But his tenure of the Provostship was quickly brought to an end by his nomination to the united Bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh, to which he was consecrated on the 13th September, 1629. About three years later he resigned Ardagh, and thenceforth remained Bishop of Kilmore. The difficulties which awaited him in his pastoral office are fully illustrated in his letters here given to the reader. He found himself Bishop only of an insignificant minority, for the bulk of the inhabitants of his diocese were Roman Catholics who rejected all spiritual authority on his part. Some overtures which he made towards a friendly understanding with the Catholic authorities seem to have been repulsed, and his scheme of converting the Irish by means of ministers who spoke Irish did not have any appreciable success. But even worse than this was the state of the Church in which he was called to govern. Pluralism, non-residence, and the most shameless nepotism were rampant, and even the Bishops frequently impoverished their successors by granting long leases of ecclesiastical properties to wives, sons, or other near relatives. In fact, ecclesiastical property was looked upon as spoil for the

[1] The difficulties which Bedell found confronting him at Trinity College are illustrated in Mr Dixon's *History of Trinity College*, p. 33: "The management of the College estates was utterly unregulated—'all this is nothing to the trouble about suits of land which none of the House knows what they are'—proper collegiate discipline had long been disregarded, the Fellows engaged in private quarrels to the neglect of their duties, the observances of religion had been disregarded for years, the very statutes existed only as a bundle of loose papers, 'part English, part Latin, all out of order.' The new Provost's first care was for the spiritual welfare of his charge. His diary records—

"*All the Fellows and Masters absent from prayers (being Sunday) the Dean bidden to look to his duty.*

"*Mr Travers for omitting his common place the second time appointed, punished* 18*s.*

"*Mr Tho. for omitting prayer reading*, 5*s.*.

"The Communion, discontinued for some years, was again regularly administered in the College Chapel, and an arrangement for catechising the Scholars after dinner on Sunday was established."

conquering race, to which certain duties were attached that might or might not be performed, but could at any rate be safely neglected. Bedell's own words (p. 332) are a sufficiently strong commentary on the history of the Protestant Church in Ireland and the best justification of its fall. It is true of course that there was a period in English Church history when a state of things prevailed almost as bad, but in Ireland it was aggravated by the fact that it was an establishment entirely alien to the people, to which they never gave any allegiance, and the property of which they regarded as rightfully belonging to the Church to which they were for good or evil devotedly attached and loyal. Bedell says in a letter to Ward (1633) in regard to his resignation of Ardagh:

"And to tell you the whole truth, I was loth myne owne example should serve for a pretext to the detestable practice of many of our own nation, who have gotten 4, 5, 6 or 8 benefices apiece and commonly vicarages; and which is yet worse maintaine no Curates, unlesse it be sometimes one for 2 or 3 livings, by meanes wherof the popish Clergy is double to us in number, and having the advantage of the toung, of the love of the people, of our extortions upon them, of the very inborne hatred of subdued people to their conquerors, they hold them still in blindness and superstition, ourselves being the cheefest impediments of the worke that we pretend to set forward."

The "extortions upon them" to which Bedell here refers are those of the Ecclesiastical Courts. His attempt to mitigate these drove him into violent hostility with his Chancellor, Mr Alan Cooke, of which much is to be found in his letters. His application to Laud for support brought him letters from the Archbishop expressing considerable sympathy, but practically telling him that there was no remedy, and counselling at any rate caution and gentle methods. One of the counts against Laud in his subsequent impeachment was that, though warned by Bedell of the state of things in Ireland, he had done nothing to prevent the growth of Popery. It is difficult to see what he could have done. Bedell's own exertions met with very qualified success, and he fell under Strafford's frown for having signed a petition as to the increase of the army

which the Lord Deputy was demanding. Nevertheless Bedell struggled on against these various abuses, and if he found coldness or even disapproval from Ussher and other colleagues, he at least impressed his Catholic neighbours with the conviction of his righteousness and honesty. When the Irish rebellion broke out, amidst the violences from which many suffered around him he was for a long time left unmolested, and was able to offer an asylum in his palace to many Englishmen who were flying for their lives. When many of his brother Bishops sought safety in a rapid retirement to England, he remained at his post. And though after a time he was obliged to leave his house, and was with his family and establishment confined in Loughoughter Castle, he was soon released, and it was at the house of one of his own clergy, Dennis Sheridan, at Drumlor, that he fell a victim to the fever which no doubt was engendered by the crowds of terrified Protestants who had taken refuge under the same roof (7 Feb. 164$\frac{1}{2}$). His own episcopal house had been taken possession of by the Catholic Bishop, and his library dispersed, but he managed by Sheridan's help to rescue the MS Hebrew Bible which he had brought from Venice, and which is now safely deposited in the Library of Emmanuel College.

His life had been one of almost ceaseless activity and indeed of controversy; but he had made no enemies notwithstanding. Protestant and Catholic agreed in holding him in respect; and those who came into conflict with him on questions of divinity, though in an age to which such disputes were too vital to be lightly regarded, seemed to have learnt something of his own charity, indulgence, and courtesy. There is no doubt that he was an industrious man, in spite of his own declaration to the contrary, but he studied too much and engaged too eagerly in the controversies which his official duties brought upon him, to produce much as the fruit of his labours. The following list includes all or nearly all that he published or that was published from his MS after his death.

(1) *The Shepherd's Tale of the Powder Plot,* dedicated to the King, with introductory verses by Joseph Hall (first printed, London, 1713).

(2) A translation into Latin from the Italian of the two

last books of Father Paolo's *History of the Council of Trent* (1620). The first six books were translated by Adam Newton.

(3) A translation into Latin from the Italian of Father Paolo's *History of the Venetian Interdict.* Cambr. 1626.

(4) *Copies of certain letters which have passed between Spain and England in the matter of Religion.* London, 1624.

(5) *An examination of certain motives to Recusancy.* Cambr. 1626.

(6) *Quaestio quodlibetica, an liceat stipendia sub principe religione discrepante mereri.* Cambr. 1630. 4to. A Latin translation from the Italian of Father Paolo.

(7) An account of Father Paolo, afterwards used with others as a preface to a translation of his 'Rights of Sovereigns and Subjects.' Lond. 1725.

(8) *On the Efficiency of Grace,* printed for the first time in the Appendix of this work, written some time in 1630.

Bedell's chief correspondent was Doctor Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney Sussex College (1609—1643). He had been a Scholar of Christ's, and from 1595 a Fellow of Emmanuel, where he became intimately acquainted with Bedell, who had been elected a Fellow two years previously. In 1599 he was elected a Fellow of the new Foundation of Sidney. In 1619 he was a delegate to the Synod of Dort, in 1622 he was elected Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. He also held Church preferments, as Chaplain to King James, Prebendary of Wells and Archdeacon of Taunton, and afterwards Prebendary of York. He was closely connected with the leading Puritan divines, such as Perkins, but was also warmly attached to the Church of England. A list of his works will be found in Mr Mullinger's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography.* The one which led to a number of letters from Bedell (Letters XXVII.—XXIX.) was *Gratia Discriminans, concio ad clerum habita Cantabrigiae,* 12 June, 1625, London, 1626. 4to.

LIFE AND DEATH

OF

WILLIAM BEDELL.

1. THOUGH the writing of lives is subject to be abused both by writer and readers, yet experience testifieth the usefulness and benefit of such writings: And tho' the genius of the person whose life I write, and the rule he seem'd to walk by all his life, was *Bene qui latuit, &c.*, yet two reasons especially seem to plead for this that here ensues. First, that some reparation may be made for the hard entertainment the world gave to this bishop while he lived: And secondly, that his example may have the advantage of commiseration (usually granted to sufferers and the dead) to commend it the more to the imitation of others. Tanner MS. 278. f. 15 r°.

2. This eminent servant of God, William Bedell late bishop of Kilmore in Ireland, was born in the county of Essex in England, in a village called Black-Notley, in the year 1571 upon Michaelmass day, of a stock or family of ancient continuance in that countrey, allthough of no great eminency for worldly greatness; his father and grandfather not exceeding the stile of yoman; his birth day presaging him an antagonist against the devil and his angells. His father and grandfather were both noted in their time for love to true religion; his grandfather (upon that account being forced for some years to fly the lands) was a man of extraordinary severity; insomuch that having

put forth his son to a master, and he upon some dislike returning home again after a day or two, he took up his said son behind him and carried him with his face to the horse-tail through some market-towns back again to his master. This severity, or rather love of his to his son, God was pleased so to bless and sanctify, that 'twas a means to settle his mind and ground him more in his obedience to his father and superiors, and to doe him good as long as he lived; for he became a gracious and very godly man.

3. He married a helper or yoke-fellow meet for him, Elizabeth Elliston; these two lived together to a great age in Black-Notley, very well esteem'd and beloved; they were both very charitable and mercifull; their house was seldom without one or two poor children, which they kept upon alms. The bishop's mother was very famous and expert
f. 15 v°. in chirurgery, which she continually practiced | upon multitudes that flock'd to her, and still gratis without respect of persons poor or rich. It hap'ned sometimes that some would return with the heal'd Samaritan with some token of thankfullness, but this was seldom. But God did not fail to reward them with that (which in scripture is most properly call'd His reward), *children and the fruit of the womb*, 3 sons and 4 daughters.

4. Of the sons, William was the second. His godly parents, in token of their thankfullness to God, and carefull to procure both the spiritual and temporal good of their children, with all convenient speed dispatched away to school their two elder sons, John and William; having the conveniency of a good school and schoolmaster not above a mile off, at a market town call'd Braintry. The schoolmaster, Mr Denman, was very able and excellent in his faculty, but accordingly austere: insomuch that the eldest son John, tho' of good parts, yet not bearing the severity of his master, grew so out of love with learning that his parents were forc'd to take him home. But William on the contrary being of excellent natural parts, and especially of a strong memory, had also such a love to learning that no harshness of his master could beat him off; but rather it so height'ned his diligence that his proficiency did seem to contend with and

even to conquer his master's rigour, yet with a bloody victory: for on a time he received such a blow from his cholerick master, that he was beaten off a pair of stairs and had one side of his head so bruis'd that the bloud gush'd out of his ear, and his hearing on that side was so impair'd that he became in process of time wholly deaf as to that ear.

5. But his great profiting in short time makes amends for all: for in the eleventh year of his age he was sent to Cambridge, and after strict trial admitted into Emmanuell-colledge, and not long after his admission chosen scholar of that house. The first four years (as himself was wont to say) he lost, only keeping pace with the rest of his years; which seldom proves better, if so well, with those who are sent so young to the university. But after, he fell to his study in so good earnest, that he got the start of the rest, and the regents of the colledge thought fit to choose him fellow before or as soon as ever he was of age sufficient by their statutes to be capable of a fellowship.

6. A great student he was and a great proficient, as in f. 16 r°. all kind of learning, so especially in divinity. He did not only tast the liberal arts or give them a short visit by the way, but thoroughly studied them. His knowledge in the Latin and Greek was very eminent, as well for oratory as poetry. In the Latin oratory he was both elegant and fluent, whether we respect his tongue or pen, in both which he was very much a Ciceronian. As for poetry (wherin he was very much delighted) he was an imitator of Horace rather than Ovid; more sharp and solid than smooth. The Greek fathers and historians he read in Greek; going first to the fountain and not beholding to translations. He attain'd also no mean skill in the Syriack, Arabick and Hebrew tongues; tho' in these (as also in the Chaldee tongue) he better'd himself much after in his travells. He had this rare faculty, that whatsoever art or language he would set himself to acquire, he would reduce it into a body or method of his own contrivance, and of languages usually he would draw up a grammar. So far did he descend in this kind, that on the desire of some Italian friends he compos'd an English grammar; thereby letting them see our language to be reducible

into the bounds of art, and not obscure and barbarous as commonly they accounted it then beyond the seas, but elegant and copious and easy enough.

7. But to return from this digression: during his abode at Cambridge (which was not fully the time allowed by the statutes of the house) he had gain'd the repute of an eminent scholar and a very grave and pious man. Much esteemed he was by Dr Chaderton, then master of the colledge, and by the famous Mr William Perkins, tho' both fathers in comparison of him. The latter took a very great affection to him, and judg'd him worthy of his more intimate acquaintance: and in answer hereof Mr Bedell likewise bare a filial respect to him, communicating his studies and submitting them to his approbation and direction.

8. And now we must conceive him full-pace entred into the study of divinity; whereof his first essay was in the discharge of the office of catechist in the colledge. In the study of divinity (as being the scope of all his other studies) 'tis hard to say whether he was a more hard student or a greater proficient. His excellent skill in scholastical and positive divinity was highly commended by that miracle of
f. 16 v°. all learning, | Padre Paulo the Venetian, as we have it attested by the honorable and memorable Sir Henry Wotton in a letter to King Charles the First of blessed memory, expressing to his majestie his judgement of the said Mr Bedell and his abilities. The letter is as followeth.

May it please your Majestie,

Having been informed that certain persons have by the good wishes of the archbishop of Armagh been directed hither, with a most humble petition to your majestie, that you will be pleased to make Mr William Bedell (now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk) governor of your college at Dublin, for the good of that society; and myself being requir'd to render unto your majestie some testimony of the said Mr William Bedell, who was long my chaplain at Venice in the time of my first employment there; I am bound in all conscience and truth (so far as your majestie will be pleased to accept my poor judgement) to affirm of him, that I think

hardly a fitter man for that charge could have been propounded unto your majestie in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the church and zeal to advance the cause of God; wherein his travells abroad were not obscure in the time of the excommunication of the Venetians. For it may please your majestie to know that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took (I may say) into his very soul; with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received more knowledge in all divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any he had ever practiced in his daies; of which all the passages were well known to the late king your father of blessed memory. And so with your majestie's good favor I will end this needless office: for the general fame of his learning, his life and christian temper, and those religious labours himself hath dedicated to your majestie, doe better describe him than I am able.

Your majestie's most humble and faithfull servant,

H. WOTTON.

9. Mr Bedell being thus furnished, 'twas easy to perceive to what course of life God had destinated and his own inclinations led him; which was the ministry. His entrance into holy orders was before he had left the university: concerning which he would | complain of the greedy gaping f. 17 r°. for money by the officers and servants of the bishop, without heeding so much the sufficiency or insufficiency of the man as of the money. Yet his orders he esteemed nevertheless religiously, tho' cumbred with some faults in the men that conferr'd them. His first call to the ministerial work was to St Edmunds-Bury in Suffolk; where the great esteem he had gain'd for his grave, humble and diligent discharge of that employment is yet surviving in the mouths and memories of many, tho' his abode there was not long. His auditory there was very much consisting of men of the best quality and best abilities of judgement and learning, who yet ever received ample satisfaction in his sermons; being such both for matter and method as gave no occasion of slighting, but

allwaies affording even to the most-knowing some farther information.

10. It will not be amiss here to give a description of his manner and method of preaching, wherin then he was in a manner alone: his prayer before sermon was not set nor fixed allwaies to the same form of words, but various in expressions, as the time and present occasions most required, but ever in the plainest and easiest phrase of the English tongue, according to the capacity of the weakest understanding: so as the most unlearn'd hearer might say Amen. Yet he never affected tedious prolixity or needless verbosity; he allwaies avoided light expressions and all words unbeseeming the spirituality and weightiness of the duty of prayer to God. No man less stinted in his gift of utterance, and yet no man more carefull in the government of his tongue.

11. His voice was but low; his action little: but the gravity of his aspect very great, and the reverence of his behaviour such as was more affecting to the hearers than the greater eloquence and more pompous pronunciation of others. In the handling of his text no man in his time was more exact, whether in opening the coherence or the words themselves. His greatest excellency was in making plain the hardest texts of scripture, wherin scarce any man was comparable to him. His way was first thoroughly to scann the force of the words in the original languages, Hebrew, Syriack, Greek, &c. Next he would compare other places with his text, and such words or phrases of other texts as were like those of his text in hand; and to be sure if any such were, through his familiar and perfect acquaintance
f. 17 v°. with | the scripture he would never miss them. By this means 'twas wonderful how great light he brought not only to the text in hand, but all other texts of scripture which he had occasion to quote. And in no one respect is the loss of his writings more deplorable than in this.

12. Though his library were large and choice (sc. that of Mr Perkins, with his own additions), yet he seldom or never used to cite any author or interpreter in his sermons; but his expositions ever appeared to be the results of comparing other texts, and of the force of the original, and of the mind

of the Holy Ghost. The sence being found out often was found to differ from the common interpretations; according to that of an ancient author, *Aliud est ad internos recessus veritatis in sacra scriptura pertingere; aliud secundum vulgarem opinionem definire vel explicare.* And divers of good knowledge and judgement in the scriptures (even divines) would wonder first at the unusuallness of his expositions; secondly, that themselves had not seen it before, as he had rendred it. Where others would pass over words and sentences *sicco pede*, there would he discover rich springs of heavenly doctrine most naturally flowing from the text.

13. Neither yet (for all this) was he ever the author or broacher of any novel opinion dissonant from the doctrine of the church of England; wherof no man was either a more able maintainer or a more obedient observer. No, nor in the matter of discipline was he any innovator; though privately, and to those of chiefest eminency in the church, no man ever more bewail'd or opposed the abuses therin. But the peace of the church was that he ever held precious; and therefore he was tender of uttering any thing that might give occasion to turbulent spirits.

14. What he chiefly sought in diving into the depths of scripture was to find out all possible conviction of the evilness of sin, as also to store himself and his auditors with all possible motives to virtue and holiness of life; judging those motives and arguments the best (not which man's art inventeth and fixeth to a text, but) which the Holy Ghost hath laid down in the scripture itself: which to discover and then to improve upon the consciences and minds of his hearers, he judged the duty and main business of preaching.

15. His doctrinal observations were commonly two or three in a sermon, which he needed not much to stand upon either for proof or illustration, having done that work before in the exposition of his text. Finally, his uses ever were very naturally flowing from his text, and (as he managed them) very moving; their force lying more in the clearness and evidence of their ground from scripture (especially the text) and in the matter of them, than in the loudness or contention of his voice or vehemency of his gesture. f. 18 r°.

16. He was able to preach (and very often did) upon very little warning: and his manner most what was to prepare himself only by meditation, yet allwaies writing down his sermons after he had preached them. In short, for a preacher he was the substance of this poor shadow here set down.

17. Mr Bedell thus furnished and call'd to the publick exercise of the ministry in the town of St Edmunds-Bury (where he succeeded Mr George Estey, one of incomparable learning, godliness, &c. who died there in the flowr of his age), had not been long there ere he had gain'd a great reverence, as well from all that savoured of the power of godliness as from the gallants, knights and gentlemen, who reverenced him for his impartial, grave and holy preaching and conversation, and heard him gladly. As for his esteem among the ministers it will appear in due place herafter.

18. Having continued a year and more at Bury, he was chosen and appointed to attend Sir Henry Wotton, then sent ambassador to the state of Venice in the time of the interdict, as chaplain to the ambassador: which employment he willingly embrac'd, desiring to concoct his knowledge and learning attain'd at home by the observations of travel and the experience of forraign countreys. This employment being publick, his engagement at Bury could not detain him; especially promising at his return to fix there. After a difficult journey (especially in his passage over the Alps) he arrived safe at last in the city of Venice. It happened to be in a time of very weighty transactions between the then pope Paulus Quintus and that state; which was a singular opportunity for him to be throughly acquainted with the mysteries of papal iniquity: for by occasion of the controversy then on foot between the pope and the state of Venice, many corruptions and much of the pope's nakedness became more publick than might well | suit with the credit of the common cause of popery. And as king James (of famous memory) was very inquisitive into these affaires, so his ambassador there found means to give his majestie a full and punctual account from time to time: and protestant princes (he especially the most considerable) were not so

f. 18 v°.

coily entertain'd in their embassies there as the manner of that state had been in former times.

19. And as the time was extraordinary, so there was also then flourishing in Venice an extraordinary person, that oracle of the Christian world Father Paulo, a friar of the order of the Servi; a man of miraculous learning, prudence and integrity, as fully may appear both by his works, and specially by the history of his life and death, now published in the English tongue: though that history is composed with more partiality to the Roman religion than verity as to the persuasion and judgement of the man. This man, besides his acquir'd and natural parts, God had enlightned with the knowledge of his truth so farr as to see the detestable enormities of the papacy and court of Rome and to loath the same: so as it cannot be doubted but God raised him up and fitted him for such a season and such a juncture of affaires. This was the man employed by the wisest state of Venice to draw up their letters and rescripts that pass'd between the pope and them: wherin, as also in his whole deportment in that business, he hath more solidly though less bitterly detected and confuted the fundamental corruptions of the papacy than ever any protestant writer before his time. This eminent instrument, tho' hard to be seen or spoken with by men of best quality, some that came in a manner for little else to that city than out of admiration of his fame, yet with the English ambassador and his chaplain he had entred into a strict familiarity, which to Mr Bedell was a singular advantage: for by converse with him he both armed himself against the papists with their own weapons, and became more polite in all his other learning.

20. It might indeed have been a dangerous thing to him (then a young man) to be in such a place; as some others then and since, by travelling and converse among the Italians, have shew'd by their sad example; but by God's mercy he was better grounded in piety and good learning than to be easily subverted. | He would often say that *he could never meet with anything among them of that side that did not rather confirm him than shake his persuasion of the truth of the protestant reformed religion.* f. 19 r°.

21. During his abode in Italy he found opportunity of converse with some of the learneder sort of the Jews, wherin he intended these two purposes, the bettering himself in his skill in the Hebrew, and the drawing some of them to the embracing of Christ. In the former the success answered, but not so in the later; that people being extraordinary stiff-neck'd, as the scripture foretold us. Some account we have of the reasons they alledge for themselves in Mr Bedell's letters to Mr Wadsworth, now reprinted together with this present history of his life.

22. Before we leave Italy we must not omitt his acquaintance there contracted with Dr Jasper Despotine, a gentleman of noble extraction, who, tho' a younger brother, yet was in a fair way of raising himself by his eminent learning and the great fame he had gain'd by his singular skill and judgement in medicine. One thing which was a great hindrance to his rising in his own countrey was his judgement in religion, varying from that of his ancestors and from the falsely called catholick. His great learning and much reading was to him an occasion of seeing more into the true state of the controversy between us and the Romanists than is permitted to ordinary papists. The change of his judgement was not suddain, nor without very strong endeavours to maintain and defend within himself the religion wherin he had been educated. But still in process of time and by degrees God sent in more light into his mind, which he was not able to avoid. The unquietness of his mind was very great in this pendulous condition; and the greater, because 'twas a matter of life and death to discover himself. A long time therefore it was before he could get clear and come to a resolution.

23. One notable passage concerning him is not to be conceal'd. It happen'd in Venice that a lady of great quality fell sick, and her sickness proving very dangerous, a consultation of physitians was call'd to consider of her estate; who upon enquiry and view of the patient having resolved what was to be done, appointed two of their number (of whom Dr Despotine was one) to be constantly with the patient. But in short space neither the care nor art of

the physitians, nor the dignity of the person, availing against death's approaches, all hope of recovery was taken away, and then spiritual physitians began to flock about her, some Jesuites, and some of other orders. Dr Despotine still attending, observed diligently the demeanour of these religious men towards the dying lady: she being now allmost senseless (for it was the last night of her life), the Jesuites and others her confessors abode continually at her bed's side. The Jesuites were very urgent with her that she would bestow liberally to religious uses, and namely upon their own order; alledging, the great reward of such good works and the benefit of the prayers of their fraternity; presenting unto her a crucifix, moving her to call on Our Lady, the patroness of women and more especially of ladies. On the other side of the bed was a Capuchin-friar, and he (not in so many words, but more to the purpose) put the lady in mind of the death and merits of Jesus Christ, and exhorted her to believe and trust in Him and committ her soul to His mercy. This different manner of proceeding us'd by these religious men mov'd the doctor much; and the more in respect of the weakness of the patient. Wherefore in all respectfull manner he besought the fathers to suffer her to depart in as much quiet as might be, she being now uncapable of farther comfort. Notwithstanding they (the Jesuites) with their tapers and crucifixes and their calling still to the dying lady, left her not till her life had left her first: and then (it being past mid-night) the company withdrew into other rooms, the doctor into a gallery: to whom being there (whether accidentally, or on purpose, 'tis uncertein) the Capuchin-friar resorted; and so considering it was not farr from day, they agreed to abide there and discourse. The friar, tho' till then unknown to the doctor, did presently fall upon discourse of the lady and the manner of the Jesuites' addresses to her; blaming their so urging her at the point of death to call upon Our Lady, without once mentioning Jesus Christ, and asking his judgement if he did not then think it an undiscreet and unseasonable thing. The doctor, tho' his heart was full, yet durst not vent himself to a man of that profession and a stranger; fearing some designe to draw forth his opinion and so to accuse him. And

f. 19 v°.

therefore with all his skill and diligence he labored to put off that discourse. But the friar so much the more urgently press'd upon him, giving all assurance possible of his ingenuity and candour of moving that discourse. Wherupon the
f. 20 r°. doctor could no longer | hold, but freely spake his mind; and the friar and he jump'd so just in their thoughts about that point, that from thence in their discourse they proceeded to some farther abuses then prevailing; in the dislike wherof their judgement did no less concurr than in the former. But still the doctor was very jealous. On the other side the friar opened himself so freely, that he thank'd him most heartily for his company and discourse, and earnestly desir'd his farther acquaintance, inviting him in most affectionate manner to his cell, that so they might have farther conference: and so, the day being come, they parted upon terms of extraordinary love and familiarity. The doctor communicated this passage to his friends, who by no means would advise him to goe any more to the friar, assuredly gathering that all this openness and profession of love was but a trap. Wherupon, tho' he was confirmed in his persuasion of the truth of the reformed religion, yet his apprehensions of the dangers impending over his person and life were no whit abated. So that still he was fain to be upon his guard, retiring himself into privacy as much as possible.

24. In which condition God's providence brought him to the acquaintance of Mr Bedell: by whom being made acquainted fully with the state of religion in England, for the more free enjoyment of his conscience he came over into England with Mr Bedell at his return out of Italy. The labours and studies of this doctor and his profound judgement in divinity are little known to the world, and especially his great zeal and courage in defence of the truth against popish and all other innovations. So tender he was in the doctrinal part of religion, that oftentimes he hath taken very great offence at some passages and words falling from some of our English preachers, neither ill-meant by them, nor ill-taken by some others, only because they seem'd to him, tho' but by some remote consequence, to abett the popish or Pelagian opinions. It had been happy if in time

our selves had been as cautious, and if that apostolical canon 1 Tim. i. 3 had been more strictly given in charge and better observed among us.

25. But we must now return from this digression to Mr Bedell. His stay in Italy was for some years; where he gained much experience and knowledge, both in divinity and the Oriental tongues, but especially in the state of religion, as it then stood in most parts of Christendom; having a farr better advantage for this at that time, and there, than the bare reading of ecclesiastical history was able to afford. He was there also much improv'd in point of | prudence and mo- f. 20 v°.
deration; meeting there with men, tho' of another persuasion from himself in many points of religion, yet very conscientious and unblameable in life and conversation, and no less detesting the tyranny of the papacy and the gross points of popery, than the protestants themselves.

26. Before his return he gain'd the Italian tongue; and so with his dear friend Dr. Despotine he came safe again into England. Being landed, he repaired with all convenient speed to his former charge at St Edmunds-Bury, where he wanted no wellcome from his many dear Christian friends, who could not but look upon him as a return of their prayers, those prayers which at his departure he publickly crav'd in his farewell sermon to them on Heb. xiii. 18, 19, *Pray for us, and the rather that I may be restored unto you the sooner.*

27. Having disposed of his friend Dr Despotine and himself for sometime as sojourners in the house of one Mr Nunne, he settled himself to his studies and ministerial employment, and the doctor fell to practice. But a very great difficulty was in the doctor's way, namely his want of the English tongue. But his friend Mr Bedell would not see him suffer for this, but voluntarily took upon him to be his interpreter at any time whensoever any patient should resort unto him. But as entire friendship made this labour easy to Mr Bedell, so to the doctor the trouble and difficulty was hereby the rather encreased, for he was exceedingly perplex'd and griev'd to be thus troublesome to his friend and thus to interrupt his studies. And considering his

condition being a stranger wanting language, being unfit for humane society and burtensom, as he accounted, to his friend, he was at first even weary of himself; so strong was the reciprocation of love between these two friends. Such examples of entire friendship were ever counted memorable and commendable even by the greatest persons, tho' seldom found amongst such, through the inconsistence of greatness and ambition with such friendship. But between this pair this their love continued firm to the last; some other notable passages whereof we shall have occasion to touch in the sequel. In process of time difficulties grew more easy, and the doctor gaining upon the English tongue, the need of an interpreter began to cease. Upon which occasion these two, Mr Bedell first, and Dr Despotine some years after,
11 r°. betook themselves severally to a stricter kind of | friendship, namely conjugal; as that which might afford each of them an helper more meet than they were able to be one to another.

28. Mr Bedell first entred into the holy state of matrimony with a very pious, grave and every-way-accomplished gentlewoman, Mrs Leah Maw widow, daughter of John Bowles esq^e^. of Ersham in Norfolk, and late wife to Robert Maw esq^e^. recorder of the town of St Edmunds-Bury. There were diverse things on either side that might seem to disswade from this match: on her side, that she must now come down from that gallantry in which she had been maintein'd according to the place and profession of her former husband, and that now she must marry a minister, a noted contemner of the world's pomp; on his part, that she had five small children and but a small estate. But these weightier considerations (as his piety and ability for heavenly knowledge, as also his conscientious integrity, and again her no less eminent endowments of nature, education and grace, for a woman) mov'd them to consent together in holy wedlock, setting aside all secular considerations that might disswade. And well it were if such weightier considerations did more preponderate in marriages, and worldly respects less. By this match Mr Bedell became now charged with the care and education of five orphans. The elder, Nicholas

Maw, by his own labours and the benefit of that then famous school of Bury, he brought up to learning; who after being sent to Cambridge was taken into the special care of Dr Maw, then master of Peter-house, and by him as he was capable preferr'd in that society to be first scholar, and after fellow of that house; where he liv'd diverse years in good esteem for learning, being both an acute and able scholar; but not fancying the study of divinity, to which his father-in-law much incited him, he fell to the study of physick; wherin he profited very much, and after a good time for furnishing his mind with the theory, he married, and fell to the practice in the city of London, and grew in a short space into great esteem. But God was pleas'd to call him away in the spring of his daies and first rise of his worldly advancement. Of the other, two departed in their childhood, the other two were dear to Mr Bedell as his own, and were by him provided for over and besides their own portions. It pleased the Lord also to bless him with | four children of his f. 21 v°. own, three sons and a daughter: in whose education, next to godliness, his earnest care was to make his sons scholars: and he would often tell them, *if he knew which of them would not be a scholar, he would not leave him a groat.*

29. Having pass'd thus some five or six years at Bury as preacher there, that very great congregation found a great defect in his voice, which was very weak, and so himself (with no small grief) did from his very first setling there apprehend. And therefore he was resolv'd, when God should offer an opportunity, to remove and give way to some of more audible voice. And God's providence was not wanting. For among those worthy knights and gentlemen that were lovers and honourers of Mr Bedell, Sir Thomas Jermin more especially did study and wait to doe him all good offices possible: and the rectory of Great Horningshearth, of his donation, falling void, Sir Thomas freely presented Mr Bedell to this charge. And the place being very near Bury, and the congregation there not very great, but such as his voice might reach, he accepted the presentation; not indeed to the full satisfaction of his Bury-friends, tho' the great disproportion of his voice to their great assembly being considered,

they could say no great matter against it. But however, to give them all possible satisfaction, Mr Bedell engaged himself to supply their Fryday lecture for a year or longer, as they should think fit; which he performed with advantage after his remove to Horningshearth.

30. But his first entrance upon his charge was not without some rubbs; for being to repair to the bishop of Norwich, Dr Jegon, for institution, altho' no scruple was made against his person or title, yet the demands of the bishop's officers for his instruments were very high; insomuch that Mr Bedell, first to the officers, tho' all in vain, and then to the bishop also himself, protested against the illegality of demanding such fees; and alleadged it to be no less than simony on his part as well as theirs if he should give them their demands. And in conclusion, the bishop being unmoveable from the principles of himself and his officers, alleadging that they demanded no more than what others were us'd to give in that case, Mr Bedell profess'd his resolution never to take a living on those terms, so unwarrantable either by the word of God or ancient canons of the church;
f. 22 r°. and so was fain to come | away without his living. This accident did not a little trouble both the bishop, Sir Thomas Jermin, and Mr Bedell himself; the bishop, in regard of the eminency of the man, whom he had sent home *re infecta;* Sir Thomas, in regard of the frustration of his good intentions to the people of Horningshearth; and Mr Bedell himself was much troubled that it was his hap to be forc'd to this so publick appearing against the corruptions of the bishop and his officers. And therefore he addressed a letter to the bishop, more fully shewing the reasons why in conscience he durst not yield to the paying of those illegal exactions: by which letter the bishop was so farr mov'd that he caus'd the instruments of his institution and induction soon after to be sent unto him, leaving it to his choice to pay what he thought fit.

31. And now we are to conceive Mr Bedell settled at Horningshearth, where we shall consider him in a threefold relation; to his own family, to his parishioners, and to his neighbour-ministers. In his family-relation his example and

authority was such that all, from his yoke-fellow to the meanest servant, held all due reverence to him. His children he had in very great subjection and nurture, wherin God had given him an helper conformable and answerable to himself, both of them, as in all things, so in this happily concurring. And tho' oftentimes where children of two several companies are in one family, discords arise either between the children or parents or both, yet their impartiality and joint care for the good of the children was such that no considerable emulation or variance was ever found among the children, nor the least difference between the parents.

32. His manner was to rise very early (commonly at four, winter and summer), and so to retire presently to his study; where he would be so fix'd till prayer time, that if any thing (as business of the family, or some stranger or neighbour comming to speak with him) did happen to call him down, he would be even angry with the messenger (wife, child, or servant) of any such occasion of interruption.

33. For prayer he observ'd three seasons, morning, noon, and evening, never tedious or prolix. At noon his manner was to read and expound some chapter of the Bible befor prayer. His expositions were methodical, concise and substantial.

34. As his children grew up (their mother having taught them to read English and give an account of the heads of the catechism), then he took them under his own teaching; and two of his sons he thus took pains with for some years. But his other many occasions, as hereafter will appear, and his studies especially, not allowing so great a distraction, he was fain to give that task over. f. 22 v°.

35. Some little recreation he used sometime before dinner or supper; which for the most part was planting, transplanting, grafting and inoculating, and sometimes digging in his garden.

36. For his habit he was a great lover of plaineness, both for the matter and fashion; never changing his fashion in all his life. His rules were easiness for the stirring of his body, and serviceableness, avoiding all vanity and superfluity. And

in his children he still laboured to have the same rules observed; wherein onely he differ'd something from the disposition of his yokefellow, she according to her education, sex, and the quality of her former husband, affecting elegancy and neatness of habit, which also she did sometimes endeavour to observe in her children. But his will and authority bore the sway. Some of his friends would blame him for this carelessness and neglect (as they counted it). But among other grave answers he usually gave, this was one: that *in our baptisme we had all avow'd to forsake the pomps and* 1 *vanities of this wicked world.*

37. When his friends came to visit him, his entertainment was friendly, neat and bountifull; but his grave deportment and savory discourse surmounted all, which was of such influence that it gave a law to the company, and held 1 them (as it were) under a kind of discipline; which that he might somewhat relax and yet not warp from his own principles, he would retire from them to his study with some grave *item*, leaving them to enjoy themselves. If they were ministers or scholars he would tarry longer, but so as he 2 would be sure their discourse should be profitable.

38. And here it cannot be omitted what an admirable gift and grace God had given him in the command and ordering of his speech. For as he was well stored with all kinds of knowledge, so he was of such sanctified wisdom, 2
f. 23 r°. that still he would be | communicating to others, and that in such a pleasing and delightfull way, that not the least appearance of pride or vain glory could be found in his discourse; no place left for vanity, if he were present; nothing could be heard but piety and morality, no man present but was : either pleased or profited or charmed. If any other would speak any thing savory, he would stand still and hear; yea of the two he was more forward to learn than teach; to heare rather than to speak; giving place to any, tho' his inferiors by many degrees. Yea by an art he had, he would so observe : the tempers of men, that in discourse with them he would draw forth whatever little good was in them; suppressing their vanity by his gravity, and hiding their ignorance by his wisdom and humility. In a word, scarce any man in his

time ever exceeded him in the government of the tongue: as if God had designed him for a lively and practical edition of Mr Perkins's excellent treatise of the government of the tongue. And indeed that man of God was the man whom Mr Bedell did very much propound to himself for imitation.

39. There is yet farther to be noted in his domestical course of conversation his behaviour towards the beggars, bedlams and travellers, that use to come to men's doors. These he would not fail to examine, mixing both wholsom instructions and severe reproofs. Nor rested he there; but if they had any passes to travel by, he would be sure to scan them throughly, and finding them false or counterfeit, his way was to send for the constable, and after correction given according to law, he would make them a new pass, and send them to the place of their last settlement or birth. This made him so well known among that sort of people, that they shun'd the town for the most part, to the no small quiet and security of him and all his neighbours.

40. One principal point more is yet behind; and that is his manner of governing his family upon the Lord's day. Being risen himself (most commonly the first in the house) he presently retir'd to his study, where while he was busied in prayer and meditation, his wife was hastening to get the children ready a convenient time before the time of publick meeting; that all might be in readiness against his coming down to prayer in the family. His company being come together, he would come down among them; but as at all times, | so more especially then, with his countenance com- f. 23 v°.
posed to all possible gravity, piety and solemnity; so as the presence of that day, and his deportment together, wrought no small effects both upon children and servants as to preparation for the service of God; so truly was he God's vice-gerent in his family. Before prayer some time he would give some admonition to his company, as he judged most suitable. And then falling down on his knees he would perform prayer among them. Which being done, all repaired together to church. In the passage from his house to the church, which was not very far, strict notice was taken of the gestures and behaviour of his children, either

by himself or to be sure by his consort, an helper to him to the height in these best things. But especially their words were observ'd. And when once they were come to the place, then all possible reverence and attention was expected both from children and servants, and of such failings as were committed, this godly couple were diligent observers and severe correctors.

41. Besides his sermons, forenoon and afternoon, he used to catechise the youth openly in the face of the congregation: whom he instructed not only to answer in the words of the catechism, but also to answer such other material questions as might make them understand the principles of religion. For his manner was for an half hour clearly to expound in order a certein portion of the catechism every Lord's-day, so as to go through it every year; wherein not only the younger sort were much benefited, but even the elder and most judicious of his auditors found a great measure of satisfaction; and they would profess that they accounted his catechising every whit as profitable as his preaching.

42. And this leads me in the next place to his deportment to the people in his charge; with whom he had a very great authority, not only by reason of his diligent preaching and holy example of life, but especially his constant use of private admonitions and reproofs, which tho' some stomack'd at, yet they durst not openly despise. The poorest of all he had a tender care over in this respect; whom he used bountifully to relieve every year. The others he entertained at his table once a year all through the whole parish;
f. 24 r°. with whom he would be very cheary, and yet in so pious | and profitable a manner, that their minds and souls were no less feasted than their bodies; sin and vanity being allwaies thrust out of doors for wranglers.

43. Having obteined so great a place in their affections, his due mainteinance came in with the more ease to him and willingness as from them. He held it as a principle of conscience earnestly to preserve the rights of the church. The edifices which belonged to him as rector to uphold he was allwaies carefull to keep in good and sufficient repair.

And his care extended not only herein to posterity; but he left also behind him an exact book to his successors, giving them a clear account what dues to expect from the parishioners, and some light for the clearing of controversies and difficulties about tithing that might afterward arise. His great exactness herein was the occasion of a long suit between him and William Lucas esq^{r}., one of the chiefest of his parish. The matter was this: Mr Bedell was given to understand that certein pieces of ground in the possession of Mr Lucas had formerly belonged to the rectory of Great Horningshearth, and some then living were able to give pregnant testimony in the business, and no small probabilities were easily gathered by view of the ground it self. Yet for his own fuller satisfaction by the favour of the lord of the mannor he got liberty to search the rolls and records belonging to the mannor: wherein by his great pains and sagacity he found such light into the business, as convinc'd him in his conscience that those grounds by right belong'd to the church. Whereupon making his claim with all possible respect to Mr Lucas, expressing his own unwillingness to spend his time in law, or to have any contention with so unequal a match as he, being also his neighbour and parishioner, and yet alleadging the tie of conscience urging him to maintein the right of the church; he received no other return from Mr Lucas than in effect a denial of any right of the church in those lands, and a plain signification of his resolution not to part with them otherwise than by course of law. The suit being commenced, besides the charge and expense of time, Mr Bedell met with grievous vexations, because of the strange delaies and other stratagems of the lawyers. Yet the terms between him and his adversary were fair, as such a long and chargeable suit | might permitt; f. 24 v°.
the lasting whereof was ten years and upwards. In short, the issue was, that after some arbitrations without success it was concluded by the final award of one man, and the land returned to the church, tho' not the same in specie, yet the same in quantity, and in a place more convenient for the minister.

44. This unhappy occasion, being also of so long con-

tinuance, did necessitate Mr Bedell to some study of the law; wherein (his own chargeable practice concurring, as also through his great abilities for whatsoever he did undertake) he became strangely knowing and dexterous, for a man of his calling. Insomuch as even during the agitation of his own cause he was so observed for his abilities, that he was frequently chosen commissioner or arbitrator in the most difficult controversies that happen'd in the countrey round about; which leads us to consider in what terms he stood with his neighbours in the countrey, and especially the neighbour ministers.

45. And here, not to insist upon the frequent applications of several to him for advice and resolution in doubts and questions in divinity and other learning, nor how he was still acquainted and made party to most conferences that happened between any of his neighbours and the papists, nor to mention what worthy men of the ministry were his intimate friends and familiars; it shall be sufficient only to insist upon one passage more than ordinarily considerable, and that was this.

46. While he was rector of Great Horningshearth a parliament was called; at which, according to the antient custom, a convocation of the clergy also was to attend; to the making up whereof, besides the bishop and other dignitaries, two other ministers were to be chosen in the diocese of Norwich to represent the clergy, one for Norfolk, and another for Suffolk. But, as it often falls out, there was much packing and plotting and making of friends by the more ambitious of the clergy, to be chosen for that honour, as they accounted it; insomuch that Mr Bedell himself was dealt withall by letter and otherwise, touching the disposal of his voice at the election. But those indirect proceedings did make such an impression upon his spirit, that he wholly declined the meeting appointed for the election. The ministers being met upon the day, there was great stickling
f. 25 r°. and much opposition of some against | others, till at last Mr Bedell himself, that was absent and never made any means for the employment, was the man they pitch'd upon. The news whereof no sooner came to his ears, but it presently

affected him with a great deal of grief and dislike, as he spared not to his friends sadly to express to this effect: that *he knew he should but loose his time and sit there and tell the clock, without doing any good, as to what the present exigencies of the church did most require.* And indeed the issue proved his fear too true, which before him bishop Andrews feared and prayed against in his *Concio ad Clerum* in a provincial synod, where he hath these words: *Synodum celebrare non fuit Paulo tum, utinam vero nec nobis nunc* χρονοτριβῆσαι; The holding of a synod was not to St Paul then (I wish it were not now to us) a wasting of time; he means when St Paul held the synod at Miletus. But we have seen sufficient to demonstrate Mr Bedell's esteem with his brothers of the ministry.

47. And now we must proceed to his removall out of England into Ireland, to be governor of the university and colledge of Dublin. From which time till the end of his daies the antient love and friendship between him and Dr Despotine was mainteined; so that their great distance both by land and sea from each other could not hinder a continual entercourse of letters between them; wherein nothing of moment in either kingdom, either of public concernment, or touching their own personal affaires, but still they communicated one to another. And this is therefore here mentioned to advertise the reader that the main of the ensuing narration, and in many places the very words, are nothing but what Mr Bedell's own letters to Dr Despotine have furnished: all other his writings, which might have much helped on this work, being unhappily lost together with his library, in that overflowing surge of the rebellion of Ireland.

48. To returne then to his remove into Ireland. We may observe a special and extraordinary hand of God therein; which Mr Bedell himself in a letter to his friend the doctor thus expresseth: *My greatest encouragement is, that I have not put myself into this place, but, as I hope I may truly say, I follow God.* And indeed not only the thing itself, but the juncture of time when it was | effected and the instru- f. 25 v°.
ments helping it on, have much of God observable in them. For that a private country-minister, so far distant, of so

retired a life, should be sought for so publick and eminent an employment; that this should be immediately upon the determination of his long suit and recovery of those lands of the church, to vindicate him from all imputation of self-seeking, and to take him off from all dreggs of anger and dissention that such a suit might have in the bottom; finally, that two so eminent men for learning and holiness, as those two famous primates, George Abbot archbishop of Canterbury and James Usher archbishop of Armagh, should be the chief instruments of his call to that place: these circumstances cannot be denied to have a special hand of God going along with them, and cannot but testify both the favor of God towards him and his own great abilities. Upon the commendation therefore of these two archbishops he was chosen by the fellows of the colledge, and petitioned for to his majestie; who was graciously pleased, upon the testimony of Sir Henry Wotton, to assent to the fellows' petition, and Mr Bedell thereupon was made and sworn provost of the college of the Holy and Undivided Trinity near Dublin in Ireland. This beginning of that part of his life spent in Ireland was (as we see) favored with the most benign aspect, not only of the best and greatest of the earthly gods among us, but of the God of heaven and earth Himself, as a sweetning and preparative for the more stormy and troublesome part of his life that was to follow.

49. During his abode at the colledge he was often honored with the visits and invitations of the greatest persons about the city, as the archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, and Cashell, the lords Clanebois, Angier, and Dowckra: and in a special manner he had the favour of the lord deputy Falkland. His yearly stipend was £100, to which he had £20 per annum added for preaching a lecture every fortnight at Christ's-Church; and this was the utmost of his revenew.

50. As touching his managing of business in the colledge; His first care was concerning the statutes of the
f. 26 r°. house, in which he made | some alterations and some additions to them, and reduced them into a more exact method. But especially he looked more diligently to the exact observance of them, than formerly had been used. In his altera-

tion of the statutes it might manifestly appear that he sought the good of the society and not his own, and all still with special reference to the good of the church: nothing being aimed at either for the addition of mainteinance or outward splendor to himself or the fellows, but that every fellow should study divinity, and after seven years' stay should goe out into some employment in the church; that the natives of the countrey should be exercised in the reading and writing of their own language, that they might be the fitter to convert their countreymen the Irish; that no acts, disputation or declamation, in any other science or art, save in divinity, should at any time be kept in the chappell; that the students should allwaies weare their gowns, as well in the city as in the colledge; that on the Lord's-day the fellows, scholars and all other the students, should goe together and all accompany the provost to church, all in their gowns. These are some of the heads of those additions which he made to the statutes. The whole body whereof he wrote out and left in the colledge. And they bear the name of *Bedell's Statutes* to this day.

51. One thing among the rest is not to be forgotten. It was provided in these statutes, that allwaies before dinner and supper in the hall the scholars of the house in their turns, every one his week, were to read a chapter in the Latin Bible, and then to give thanks; and after meat was brought in, and a little space of time allowed, the reader was to goe up to the fellows' table (where seldom but the provost himself was present), and there recite some verse of the chapter that was read, to give occasion of savory and profitable discourse; which to be sure, when he was present, was improved accordingly.

52. He was strict in exacting the performance of divinity acts, as commonplacings and disputations required by statute of the fellows, wherein himself would still take | the first turn; f. 26 v°.
and oftentimes he would dispute at other times with an argument or two upon the respondent, which sometimes produced some pretty strong tugging between him and the moderator (which allwaies was the divinity professor, Dr Hoile), to the great delight and profit of the hearers.

53. Besides this and such like ordinary work of his place, he used on the Lord's-day, between dinner ended and church, to expound in the chappell some part of the catechism; to which exercise diverse of the most devout persons of the city used to resort. And in this way of settlement his government in the colledge proceeded for some time, without any manifest disturbance.

54. But 'twas not long ere some tempestuous winds arose, to the no small disquiet of his and the colledge's peace. Two particulars the reader may take notice of. One was a schism among the fellows arising from a national antipathy; for the society consisting partly of Brittish and partly of Irish, hence it came to pass that there were contradictions and bandyings one side against another in all their meetings and consultations, whereby business of publique concernment was hindred; the house became divided against itself; the provost was rendered suspected by one side or other for his moderation and endeavours to keep down this contention; and in short things grew to that height that the visitors were necessitated to interpose, least the matter should have grown to open scandal. This last refuge, the authority of the visitors, being join'd with the wisedom and moderation of the provost, was a means for some time to keep down this fire, but could not extinguish it.

55. Another disturbance arose from the professor Dr Joshua Hoile, a man of great learning, zeal and piety, but over-hot. The occasion was this: Mr Bedell in his catechisings and sermons and at other discourses used still rather to contract the differences between protestants and papists than to widen them. One thing among the rest he had uttered his judgement in, viz[t] the church of Rome to be a true church: which in effect wise men know to be no more than that God hath a church, tho' in the dominions and under the tyranny of the pope; and withall he was still wont to distinguish between the *church* of Rome and *court* of Rome. But this so much disrelished with the
f. 27 r°. professor, | being at that time in his ordinary divinity lectures engaged in the confutation of Bellarmine, that being to com-

mon-place on a time in his course, he took the text, Revel. xviii. 4, *Come out of her, my people:* whence he took occasion too plainly to glance at the provost with somewhat more sharpness (being a hot and zealous man) than could be well-digested, without disparagement to his place. But the provost contented himself only with the satisfaction of a private conference in the professor's own chamber, immediately after the sermon; where they debated the business largely together, like scholars, all in Latin, without any witness unless a sizar, and parted good friends; and no more was ever after heard of that matter, saving only that the professor afterwards to some of his acquaintance gave the provost the commendation of a pure Ciceronian as ever he had discoursed with.

56. And thus having been employed and exercised awhile in the college, not much more than a year from his first settled residence in the place God's providence called him forth into the government of the church; wherein he spent the remainder of his life, and wherein we shall find him exceedingly tossed with many and great troubles. His entrance and first advance to this employment was principally by the mediation and procurement of his noble friend and patron Sir Thomas Jermine, who moved the king's majestie in his behalf, and with some difficulty obteined for him the bishopricks of Killmore and Ardagh, before Mr Bedell was acquainted in the least with any such designe. The difficulty of effecting this was such, that Sir Thomas was forced to engage for him to his majestie, as farr as a man might be responseable for another. The cause of this difficulty perhaps may appear afterwards. It is not to be omitted how little ambitious he was of any such advancement. For before his acceptance of the bishopricks he seriously consulted with the lord archbishop of Armagh, and crav'd his advice about it; professing himself so indifferent, that *if his grace should judge it more behovefull for the church that he should still stay at the colledge, he would then some way decline the bishopricks.* Also to his friend the doctor his expressions concerning this his preferment speak the same: *Thus your friend, who never desir'd and dream'd of this or any other bishop-*

rick, (more than to be pope of Rome), is to have two bishop-
f. 27 v°. *ricks at a clap, being insufficient for one.* | But upon the advice and encouragement of the lord primate he accepted the bishopricks.

57. And now the next thing was his consecration, which he was to receive from the most reverend James Usher lord archbishop of Armagh, to which province his bishoprick did belong. But it happened to be at the time of the archbishop's triennial visitation, which was usually managed by the chancellor and register of the archbishop. And had it only been used to keep up the dignity and preheminence of the archbishop above the other bishops of his province, or for the reformation of such bishops as were negligent or corrupt in their places, the matter had not been great. But by vertue of this triennial visitation every bishop was inhibited from exercising any jurisdiction, as well the good as the bad; all causes were remov'd from the bishops' to the archbishop's court; and these sees being now vacant, the archbishop's officers were the more active to improve their time, and not willing to be interrupted by the coming in of the new bishop. Whereupon his consecration was deferr'd a long time. But the new bishop made no hast; resolving in matters of this nature (as he wrote to his friend the doctor) to follow rather than to lead.

58. At his consecration (and so after) he was to enter of necessity into a more costly garb, both for attire and attendance, than ever he had used; and this was no small trouble to his humble and heavenly mind. His own wisedom prompted him to some conformity to the rest of the episcopal rank; and his friends were sollicitous lest he should render himself contemptible, or lie under sinister censures, by coming too much behind other bishops in state and gallantry. And therefore he took a middle way; rising a little, but differing very much in outward splendor from the rest of his rank. He never wore silk, but his girdle, chimier and tippet; never wore bever, castor, or demi-castor, but allwaies felts. He used not to ride up and down the streets of Dublin about his occasions with his three or four men attending, as was the common usage of the bishops there, but allwaies walked

with only one man. And till the time of the earl of Strafford (for till then 'twas arbitrary) he very seldom used to ride with the state to church on Sundaies; and when he did, it was with as little state as possible. And tho' in this practice he did discontent some, and suffered the gibes of the more lordly prelates and their followers, yet he could not be altered. Going to visit a bishop in plain habit, with shoes made for ease and use (not with high Polonian | heels, &c.), f. 28 r°. *How now, my lord,* said that bishop, *Do you weare brogues?* (so the Irish call their shoes), jearing him for his plainness, and his known affection to the Irish nation. But he kept his usual composedness, and fell presently upon that church-business that occasioned his visit; and so spoil'd the jeast by taking no notice of it, and withall gave a sober check to the levity of it.

59. But we shall now carry the reader along with our bishop of Killmore in his plain accoutrements to his diocess, and take some view of his carriage and entertainment there. And the first thing observable may be his sense of those presents (as horses, fat oxen, brawns) that came then frequently unto him, some from his officers, and some from his tennants and some ministers of his diocess. These were sent so thick, that they were a very great disquieting to his mind: for his way was, either to offer money for such as came from farr and that might be usefull to him for his present necessity, or if that were refused (as allwaies it was, even with indignation, as a kind of an affront), then utterly to deny acceptance of any such present. It is hardly credible what discontent arose against him, partly for this refusing of presents, and partly for the plainness of his habit and attendance. Some abstained not from scoffs and scorns; thus seeking to allay their own self-accusing and self-condemning guilt, by laying loads on him, whom they found inflexible to their corrupt interests.

60. But notwithstanding all such unkind welcoms, the bishop, armed with integrity, patience and holy zeal for God and the truth, proceeded with all diligence to inform himself of the state of his diocess; bending his studies wholly, and to the utmost of his power, that way to reform. And

God's providence concurr'd: for he was no sooner a little settled in his see, but multitudes of complaints daily came in, especially against his chancellor and those others that under him managed the jurisdiction. It was the more grievous to the bishop to meet with such complaints, for that the cause was given by his own officers and the wrongs done in his own name. And therefore with all convenient speed he appoints a visitation, that so he might see fully and certainly into the state of things.

61. But at his visitation, upon some free actings and impartial proceedings of his for redress of some grievances of some complainants, his chancellor openly oppos'd him for
f. 28 v°. going about to | alter the course of proceedings observed in his predecessor's time; for intrenching upon the place and office of the chancellor; as an innovator, as going about to eradicate all the professors of the civil law, and what not? And he found some of the clergy that were not ashamed to abett him in this opposition to the bishop's good intentions for reformation.

62. It is strange how high the rage of Satan and men's malice flew against him, at his very first stirring, tho' but gently, for some reformation. One while they attempted to scare him with the name of a præmunire; but he too well understood the laws to incurr that danger. Another while they thought to discourage him with giving out that he was a papist, an arminian, a polititian, an Italian, a neuter. The eies of all men were upon him, the mouths of all open'd against him; he was as a wonder to many, and was forc'd to bear their reproaches and the smitings of their tongues; there was none to stand by him, or scarse to speak a word in his favour. His own nearest friends and relations were no small disheartning to him, as looking upon him and his actings according to the common vote; and help'd rather to break his heart and courage in the cause of God, than any way to encourage him. There was not any worldly gain or advantage in the least to be expected, in case he should have been able to attain his ends; but to be sure he must be at great expences, both of his body, means and time, to the divorcing him from his studies (as he complain'd to his friend

the doctor). But none of all these things, nor any worldly considerations, could withold him from using his best endeavour to discharge his conscience in that place God had called him to.

63. And therefore he begins first with his pretended chancellor Mr Alane Cook, after Dr Cook. For the bishop having received sad complaints against him (the particulars out of respect to the dead shall now be spared), and holding himself obliged to see to the management of the jurisdiction in his own diocess, and having met with so hot opposition from him to his face in open court for but beginning to meddle with the rectifying what he judged amiss; therefore he desired of Mr Cook to see his commission or patent, by which he held the place of chancellor; signifying farther that being he was an officer under him and acting in his name, he must needs therefore call him to account for his actings.

64. Mr Cook's patent being shewn was found to be only a grant of the chancellor's place to him from the precedent bishop, under his hand and episcopal seal, confirmed by the dean and chapter. There were also other just grounds of exception from the incongruence of the syntax, a principal verb being wanting that was to govern a long sentence of about an hundred words. Besides that, the bishop alleadged that *it was against the canon law for the bishop to have a servant* (as the chancellor is) *imposed upon him by his* predecessor. These and some other defects in the instrument itself, but especially the exorbitancies of the person, begat a long and chargeable suit between the bishop and him. f. 29 r°.

65. The first scene hereof was the archbishop's court; and there tho' the archbishop himself (that renowned Usher) was forward enough to give the bishop of Kilmore a fair hearing and an equal sentence, yet alass! he was no more at his own disposal in it than the bishop of Kilmore could be in causes depending in his court, the archbishop being alike tied up by the fullness of his chancellor's power, as the bishop was by his.

66. And besides, this was like to be a leading case,

that if determin'd for the bishop might have hazzarded to have been an occasion of shortning both the power and the profit of all chancellors, registers, &c., and might have proved no small diminution of those honors and preferments which professors of the civil law propound to themselves as the rewards of their study and practice. Thus Mr Cook laboured to represent this case, and thus without much adoe the business presently was resented by the civilians; so that all as one contributed their uttermost for the mainteining Mr Cook and worsting of the bishop: insomuch that when according to the form of those courts he was to retain a proctor, none would undertake his cause; till one of the meanest they could find was assigned by the court, and that was in this case, as if a man's adversary should be his counsel or attorney; but how such a man's cause might be likely to thrive any one may judge.

67. But notwithstanding this cold comfort the good bishop thought himself bound in conscience to do his endeavour for the regulating his chancellor and reforming the proceedings in his jurisdiction: and therefore trusting his proctor as little as he could, he applied himself to the management of his own cause in his own person. He | missed not f. 29 v°. a court-day, tho' the place (being the city of Drogheda) was thirty miles distant from his house. He drew his answers himself, or whatever else was to be given in, in writing, being very throughly seen in the study of the civil law. He offered himself and earnestly desired to plead and speak in his own cause when occasion so required, but that would not be allow'd. The bishop alleadged and proved, that *anciently 'twas accounted a shame for a bishop to have one speak for him:* but the civilians did not like such old fashions; they were resolved that their manner of proceeding should not be altered; the bishop must speak by his advocate or proctor, or whatever else he spake signified nothing. And so still his hopes of prevailing grew daily more desperate.

68. In these streights he tried some friends in England; from whom he receiv'd only some small verbal encouragement. The advantage was much every way on the opposite

side; yet it was thought the surest way to remove the cause into the prerogative court. And there also much time was spent and charges ran on, and the same forms of proceeding were repeated again to no other purpose but only to make the business the more publick, as being now brought to Dublin; and that all the good civilians might have the better opportunity to join all their forces against the bishop.

69. Being thus worried among them and easily perceiving what issue he must expect, he expressed himself to his friend the doctor thus: *I have all right on my side, but know not whether I shall find any to do me right.* Also he call'd the law his purgatory and his journeys to Dublin his returning into purgatory: he complain'd to the doctor of his many troublesom thoughts, and often bemoan'd his own case. The doctor also and all his other friends persuaded him to sit still and not to strive against the stream. But the tie of his conscience and of his duty to God in that place were more than all discouragements; and therefore, tho' sure to loose the day, as he wrote to the doctor, he comforted himself with this, *Post tenebras spero lucem, et dabit Deus his quoque finem:* resolving however to be hearty and to see the uttermost of the business, that he might be able to say *Liberavi animam meam.*

70. But before we proceed to relate the final issue of this suit, we shall take breath awhile and observe some other employments of the bishop's, even while this great cause was depending. For | as he laboured to rectify the f. 30 r°. miscarriages of his pretended chancellor and the other officers in managing the jurisdiction, so himself was active the mean time to give a better example; and therefore most commonly his manner was to keep courts himself in person. For which purpose as usually they had set times and places, so whatever weather came, he would be sure to be present at the remotest parts of both his diocesses. These journeys took him up somtimes nigh a fortnight's time together; they were very chargeable to him, and somtimes dangerous, by reason of the mountains and boggy waies and loughs and rivers not passable but by boat, besides the intempe-

rate rains that fell allmost all summer long in those northern parts.

71. But God not only preserv'd him in these his waies, but encourag'd him: for at the very first beginning of these journeyings to keep courts, he was met a great way from home by the judges of assizes, being upon their circuit, as the bishop was upon his; and though they were of no particular acquaintance with him, yet with great respect and civilities they congratulated his advancement to the bishopricks, using this speech unto him, that *when his lordship came to that diocess it was breathing out the last spirit.* The people generally, English, Scottish, Irish, gentle, simple, protestants, papists, wellcom'd him wherever he came. He was invited by those of best quality, knights and gentlemen, as he travell'd; and sometimes of necessity (the county not affording other conveniency) he accepted such invitations. He would not refuse the courtesies of papists in these occasions, nor of papist-priests, but somtimes hath taken up his lodging even in such men's houses; and very ambitious would they be of entertaining him as their guest. But where the conveniency of inns was to be had, there he rather would be at his own charges.

72. It happened once that a meeting of the bishop and some ministers was appointed to be holden at a place called Mannor Hamilton, and the bishop having bespoken an inn and provision for the entertainment of himself and some ministers, a noble knight Sir Frederick Hamilton, that was lord of the town and dwelt near it, sent to the bishop to invite him to his house. The bishop return'd him many thanks, but withall signified, that *himself and the ministers*
f. 30 v°. *had bespoken their entertainment, and were | to consult of matters of weight properly concerning their spiritual function;* and therefore he desired to be excused for that time, promising that *after their business ended they would not fail to wait upon him.* Sir Frederick not being satisfied with this, being a man of an high spirit, sends again with more importunity, inviting not only the bishop and all his company, but all the ministers; assuring them that *they should have freedom and privacy, the best his house could*

afford for their consultations, only requesting earnestly that they would come; adding, that *he took it as an indignity that his lordship and the ministry should be entertained in that countrey any where else than at his house;* sending also a threatning messenger to the host of the house for making provision for them without his advice. The bishop and ministers (for some reasons of weight, not here to be expressed) judged it not very fitting to yield to the motion of the knight at that time, though seemingly fair and safe; and therefore in all respectfull manner desir'd his pardon, with promise still (for the bishop's part) to give him a visit ere he left the countrey. Accordingly the next morning, their business being over, the bishop goes to the knight's house, with his register and a minister or two and some servants. And being come thither they found the doors all shutt, no person appearing. Having call'd and knock'd severall times, all was still silent. They knocked and waited still; so long, till first shame, and then anger possessed all, but only the bishop. His company earnestly advised him to stay no longer. At last some were spied peeping out at windows and laughing. But the bishop for all this so kept his patience, that when all his company were allmost in a rage and urgent upon him to be gone and no longer expose himself and them to scorn, yet still he resolved to stay a while longer, and smilingly told them *'twas but an humor and would soone be past and over.* And accordingly, after allmost half an hour's waiting, Sir Frederick caused the doors to be opened and himself met and embrac'd the bishop. Some little expostulation there was on both sides for this carriage of the business. But Sir Frederick being a gallant bred man, was so ingenuous as to be moved by the known worth, tried wisedom, patience and humility of the bishop, to lay down this animosity, and to make amends for all by a very noble entertainment of the bishop and his company; and the bishop was abundantly satisfied in reaping the fruits of his patience.

73. We return again to his journeying and keeping courts, whereby as he satisfied his own conscience, so he gave very great satisfaction both to ministers and people, tho' to f. 31 r°.

his no small charge. And because his law-suit with his chancellor and other law business would not allwaies in person permitt him thus to keep his courts, he therefore issued out four commissions to four ministers, whom he judg'd most upright and able, authorizing them to manage his jurisdiction in his absence. But at this his chancellor stormed exceedingly; and tho' he could not keep the bishop himself from sitting as judge when he pleased, yet by his power and threatnings he so farr prevail'd as that those ministers durst not appear in the business, or but very coldly, if at all. Sometimes it happened that the bishop and chancellor both met and sate in court together: and then the bishop was sure to meet with opposition and provocation sufficient to have either dismaied or transported him into passion, had not the wisedom that is from above both kept and guided him.

74. One thing that troubled the chancellor was, that by the bishop's sitting as judge in the courts he was fain to fall much short in his gain, which he was wont to make by his place. For not only his underhand and indirect gains were much prevented, as wanting now the conveniency of concealment, but also those fees which with him were ordinarily and punctually exacted by him, the bishop would still moderate and mitigate, with respect to the poverty of the person and the merits of the cause; preventing hereby in some measure the rigorous exactions of his chancellor, and (as he expressed it to his friend the doctor) *both keeping his own hands clean, and looking to Mr Cook's fingers also as well as he could.*

75. But the greatest abuse in the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and of all other the most grievous to the good bishop, was the frequent prostitution of that solemn and dreadful sentence of excommunication; which with them (as it were) was become nothing else but an engine to open men's purses; with this the chancellor, yea and even the very apparitors, were used to force in their fees and exaccions, especially from the Irish, the poorest of all not excepted. The chancellor, tho' but one man and a meer lay-man, when he saw his time, would decree men excommunicated, and

presently the | ministers were commanded to denounce them f. 31 v°.
as such in their churches, twenty in a parish at once. This command must pass in the bishop's name, and yet without his consent or so much as knowledge, and being thus denounced, tho' papists (as commonly they were) whose religion excommunicates them from our worship and assemblies, the next business was by a writt *de excommunicato capiendo* to apprehend them and clap them up in the goale; where sometimes they were famished, or, to avoid taking, forc'd to fly to woods and mountains, to turn kerns and live by robbery.

76. The bishop with all his might laboured for redress of this, and by moderating the charges of the court and other his exemplary tenderness and compassion towards the poor natives, in a great measure prevented it; tho' wholly to reform it (as the laws then stood) it was impossible for one bishop to doe. But lest he should hereby seem to favor offenders, he used, when any were to be sentenc'd, by instructions and grave admonitions to set their sins before them, with the evil and danger of the same, and to allure them by all meekness and gentleness to repentance, imposing such moderate fees on them as they might be able to pay in a competent time, without writs or excommunications.

77. These his proceedings rendered him still more odious to that sort of men whose mainteinance arose out of the courts, but won him an extraordinary love and respect with the Irish and all that at any time came under the lash of the court. And his often riding about on these occasions was much conducible to his health. For tho' while he lived in England he had been much afflicted with the stone and gravell descending down from the kidneys, yet in Ireland by this continual motion he was in a manner cur'd of this affliction.

78. The reverend doctor Bernard, sometime dean of Kilmore, in his character given of this good bishop in print hath most truly represented him, both as to his keeping courts and visitations, as also to all other particulars touch'd by him in that brief account.

79. Visitations he ever transacted in his own person, and preach'd himself for the most part, and that in a way which was home and searching against sin, pressing and urgent as to matter of practice and reformation; being set
f. 32 r°. on by the extraordinary gravity | and heavenliness of his presence and conversation. He never would put up one farthing of the procurations, but spent that money upon the ministers for their entertainment and the poor. Also in the keeping his courts (as Dr Bernard hath truly noted) he used his brethren of the ministry with all possible respect: he made them sit covered on each side of him on the bench, he asked their opinions on any cause that came before him, and would not pass sentence till they had first given it. Neither was the difficulty small to persuade some ministers to use the liberty he gave them herein. For what through the power of the pretended chancellor and threatning words given out by him, and through the ignorance of many ministers in the ecclesiastical history and ancient canons, and especially by a long habit of servitude under the bishop's officers and servants, ministers were in a manner jealous of the bishop for seeking their deliverance; as the Israelites were of Moses and Aaron for speaking to Pharaoh to let them go; or as one thunder-stricken, who (as the poet speaks) *Vivit, et est vitae nescius ipse suae.*

80. This good bishop rested not here, but attempted also the erecting of diocesan-synods, in imitation of the like practise of primitive bishops; which he judged himself sufficiently impowered to do as a bishop in his own diocese, both by the word of God and the ancient canons. And some meetings of the ministers and conferences were holden by his appointment for this purpose, and some orders and canons were agreed upon for reformation of his diocese. And for this especially he was charged by his pretended chancellor and those of the same craft, as an innovator and as having incurr'd a præmunire and intrenching upon the king's prerogative.

81. Such high imputations were frequently and loudly proclaimed against him by his and the churches adversaries, to deterr him and to stifle his godly endeavours for reform-

ation. But notwithstanding all this he proceeded as farr as possibly he could, and was prepared and resolved to answer his actions in this behalf at his uttermost perills. But the ministers apprehending the dangers likely to ensue upon such an attempt grew altogether cold in the business; and the bishop could not proceed alone to any purpose in this his pious undertaking: whereof complaining to his friend the doctor he useth this speech: *It is an universal disease in bodies ecclesiastical, Omnes, quae sua sunt, quaerunt.*

82. Thus having seen the practice of this bishop in matter of the jurisdiction ecclesiastical, the reader probably will not think it burthensome to take his judgement also concerning the same, as then it stood, in his own words, as they are faithfully transcrib'd out of his letters to the doctor: *The corruptions of the jurisdiction ecclesiastical are such as not only not law, but not so much as equity is kept; or if law, the new decretal law, not the ancient canons of the church, not the canon of canons, the holy scripture.* And in another of his letters to the doctor, writing concerning some proceedings by the lords justices, then in Ireland, against friars and popish priests and Jesuites, thus he writes: *The thing most to be wished were some good reformation in church-matters. But* (he adds) *I believe rather nothing will be done, than any thing much better'd.* f. 32 v°.

83. Touching some innovations in matter of ceremony, introduc'd into England about anno 1636 (of which the doctor had written to him), he return'd this: *I am not glad of it, Vino qui vetere utuntur, sapientes puto.* And so for his own particular in his own diocese he required conformity only unto that which was then by law established, and no more.

84. The cathedral church wanted endowment for the mainteinance of prebends, treasurer, chantor, vicars-choral, vergers and other officers and ornaments belonging to the state and magnificence of a cathedral. There was only a dean and archdeacon, but without any revenue, save only the profits of such church livings whereof they were incumbents; and consequently the chapter in his diocese was only a convention of the several ministers, so many of them as

could come together upon occasion, any beneficed man having his place and vote in the chapter.

85. And hence we may fitly pass to acquaint the reader how his manner was and what rules he observed in the ordination of ministers and collation of livings. For which purpose three things must be noted: one, that the most of the livings in that diocese (and in a manner all) were the bishop's, as rightful and undoubted patron; and the whole power of disposing them, when any fell, was in him. Another thing was, that 'twas then the custom in Ireland for one minister to enjoy three, four, five, or more livings, as they were able by friends or other waies to obtein them; yea, not only many rectories, but many vicarages were there pos-
3 r°. sessed by one man, and, which yet | may seem more strange, many clarkships. One man, some servant or kinsman to the bishop, and no poor man neither, might be clark to three or four parishes. Such was the state of the church when bishop Bedell came first to the diocese. A third thing to be noted is, that most of the people in every parish were popish and Irish. In several parishes there was not one Brittish or protestant, save the minister's family, and sometimes not all his family so neither.

86. Our bishop, to stay the fuller grouth of these disorders, took this course. First, he ceased not to admonish those ministers that had pluralities to be resident upon some one or other of their livings, and to provide sufficient curates in the rest, and as he could, he improved his authority to urge them hereunto. But this came far short of effecting that reformation that was needfull: and therefore he used a more effectual remedy as God gave opportunity; and that was, as any living became void, never to bestow above one on one man, and to require an oath of every one to be perpetually and personally resident upon his living. By this means, tho' some were highly displeased (the hopes of their gains being thus taken away), yet the number of ministers was made somthing the more proportionable to the work.

87. And whereas they generally accounted those livings, where all or most of the people were papists, to be *sine cura*, saving only to take care to sell tithes; our bishop in time

brought them to another belief, and would tell them, *Tho' the people would not hear them preach, yet 'twas very fit they should see their good conversation:* and therefore by no means would he allow non-residency or pluralities.

88. And to make yet a farther provision for the effectual discharge of the ministers' work, he was very carefull that, if possible, ministers might be placed (where the people were most Irish), who had skill in the Irish tongue; in prosecution of that statute in the college of Dublin, wherein it was provided, that scholars of the Irish nation for their encouragement and better fitting themselves for the conversion of their own countrey-men should be exercised in the reading of the scriptures in the Irish language; for which exercise every such Irish scholar had a yearly stipend of £3 per annum beside his scholarship. The bishop very zealously prosecuted this pious designe in placing of ministers; | and if f. 33 v°.
such men were offered to him, or himself could find out such, as were able to converse with the natives and perform divine offices to them in their own language, he would rather preferr them to such livings, than others of greater learning and abilities that wanted the language. And to them that would cavil or object against this his practice, as less propitious to learning and English-men, he would produce that of the apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 19, *In the church of God I had rather speak five words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.* And he would plainly tell ministers, such forward men as used to ride and run for a benefice, that *tho' they had Saint Paul's gifts, yet he could not see how they would be able to doe any good unless they had the language of the people.*

89. One main objection was made against these his proceedings upon a politick or state-reason. For by laws in force in Ireland the Irish were requir'd to learn the English language and use English fashions; which law this practice of the bishop seemed directly to cross. But his answer was, that *those people had souls which ought not to be neglected till they would learn English.* And therefore, not being mov'd by any such objections, he persisted in his course

which he had begun, and applied himself for example-sake to the study of Irish: wherein, as to reading and writing, he had attain'd a good perfection.

90. And as in preferring men to livings, so in conferring holy orders he was very carefull. He used allwaies, with the assistance of the archdeacon and two or three other ministers, to examine openly in the church such as were to be ordained. He had a very sweet and brotherly way of proceeding in his examinations, and would press that point (among the rest) whether the examinant did think himself call'd of God, and moved by the Holy Ghost, to take that calling upon him. At the ordination allwaies he preach'd and administred the communion himself, one of the other ministers assisting in the distributing of the cup. The letters of orders, as also the instrument for institution and induction, he allwaies wrote and sealed with his own hand; not suffering one farthing to be paid by any minister, either
f. 34 r°. | to himself or any servant of his, that he might shun all appearance of simony; which himself rendred as the reason of his doing. And thus sending forth labourers as fit as he could into the Lord's vineyard, he did endeavour what lay in him that every parish in the diocese might have a minister able to doe somthing towards the conversion of souls.

91. It must not here be concealed that the success was not so answerable to his good intentions. For being bent upon it to place none but such as had the language where most of the people were Irish; he was fain to prefer many Irish-men, some of which were such as had been popish, and some priests and friars, who either by some injury or disgrace from those of their religion, or through poverty and desire of preferment (being once acquainted with the bishop's way and principles), were moved to desire conference with him; and so by degrees becoming converts, and carrying themselves at first fairly, and places falling void, they were by the bishop preferr'd, meerly out of his zeal for the conversion of the Irish. But some of these men proved scandalous, returning again to their vomit; not by revolting to popery, but by breaking out into dissoluteness of life, to the great dishonour of God, disgrace of the ministry and grief

of the bishop. Yet these evils he never so far resented (how odiously soever aggravated) as to alter that good principle, that the minister ought to be able to speak to his flock in a tongue that they could understand. And not only his own conscience, but all men (even his adversaries) bore him witness, that no secular or sinister end induced him to take this course; but meerely to discharge his conscience the best he could.

92. Before we leave this subject, one rare and remarkable passage may fitly be remembered. The bishop being a great opposite to plurality, had this objected (either by others or his own conscience, or both), that himself gave the same bad example in holding two bishopricks. And therefore his heart was a long time set upon it, to use all lawfull means to quit one. In order whereunto he dealt very earnestly with a reverend and learned man Dr John Richardson, to accept of the bishoprick of Ardagh, which he offered to resigne; engaging to use all his interest in such | friends as he f. 34 v°.
had in England about the court to procure him the grant thereof from his majestie. Dr Richardson had allready the best church-living in that diocese; which was some means to farther the bishop of Kilmore's designe, tho' the bishoprick it self was of no tempting value.

93. Bishop Bedell consulting with his friend Dr Despotine concerning this matter, was much dissuaded by him, as also by all other his friends, who were made acquainted with this his purpose. His own words in his letters to Dr Despotine to satisfy him in the thing were these: *That the example of holding two bishopricks was not canonical, but justifying the holding of many benefices by one person; that 'twas an unreasonable thing of him to seek to reform heapers of benefices, being himself faulty in having two bishopricks; that he was sensible of his own disability to discharge the office of a bishop to two churches, yea even to one; that this bishoprick as to the revenues thereof had been most horribly injured, and therefore requir'd some abler man, both for purse and friends, to recover the rights of the church, and such he knew Dr Richardson to be, as having a good estate and no charge of children, and a man deserving a far better bishoprick.* And

whereas 'twas objected by the doctor that by parting with one of his bishopricks he should shorten his means, his answer was, that *still he should have enough to live on, and leave his children more than was left him;* and *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius.* Thus armed against all arguments of flesh and bloud and finding Dr Richardson not altogether averse from the motion, bishop Bedell never ceased till the business was effected to his great joy and content, wherein he invited his friend Dr Despotine in a letter to rejoice with him.

94. And now this great rubb being removed, he went on more confidently to reform those too-common and rooted maladies of the clergy then and there, plurality of benefices and non-residency: which were grown to that height in Ireland that some would take the liberty, tho' possessors of several livings, to reside at none of them at all. Some men had livings in several diocesses; some still lay at the catch to pick holes in men's titles and some way or other to intitle the king, and then get the broad seal; and so in
f. 35 r°. spight of any bishops to possess themselves of what | livings they had a mind to. If a bishop should refuse to give institution or a mandate for induction in case of any such intruder; they needed no more but to goe to the prerogative court, and for their money they might have both. Bishop Bedell in his diocese was not a little infested with this kind of men, and omitted not to oppose them with all his might. And hereupon he drew on himself a great deal of trouble and charge from some of the ministry. And what by his pretended chancellor's encouraging, and the iniquity of the times conniving or (which is worse) encouraging such offenders, he could prevail but little, but was fain to goe by the loss in all, save only in what is more worth than all, the peace and comfort of a good conscience.

95. It would be too long to relate his troubles, occasion'd by some necessary secular affaires, as in his just endeavours to vindicate the rights of his churches. That of Ardagh was scarce worth £100 per annum when he first came to be bishop; the revenue being so grossly embezel'd, that he had not left him in that diocese where to set his

foot; the very site of the bishop's mansion-house being leas'd away and costing a long and chargeable suit ere he could recover it. *The troubles and suits that lay upon him in right of that bishoprick,* he used to say, *were an abyssus or bottomless gulf.*

96. He had also enough and more of the same in his diocese of Kilmore; being forced to sue for some of his menial lands, leased away quite contrary to law; and was held out of his right by the potency and the subtiltie of some enemies he had to doe withall in most plain cases for many years together. One very unkind suit there happened between him and his predecessor's widow, about lands leased to her by her husband at a very mean rent and for a longer time than by law they ought and to the manifest injury of the church; and yet hardly was the business ended till just upon the breaking out of the rebellion; and even then he was fain in a manner even to buy his right.

97. It was the usual course of his predecessors, the bishops of Kilmore and Ardagh, to gratify their wives, children, kindred and servants, by making them long leases of the lands of their bishopricks, to the manifest injury of the church; and the deans and chapters, | for favour and affection, f. 35 v.
were procured to confirm such unlawfull acts; whereby the succeeding bishops were reduc'd to a very small allowance, and the lands in long process of time in danger of alienation from the church: an abuse not seldom incident to most church-lands, but strenuously oppos'd and in some measure rectified and prevented by our good bishop; who never was guilty of doing any such unconscionable act in all his time.

98. Thus have we seen what constant and setled troubles, as a constant storm, did still weatherbeat our bishop; that grand suit also with his chancellor continuing all this while over and besides all other matters. We shall now see how God was pleas'd yet farther to exercise him with trialls of another nature, wherein the higher powers fell foul upon him. Two instances only of this nature may here be presented to the reader.

99. The first was this. During his episcopacy at Kilmore, the protestants of the county of Cavan in his diocese,

both clergy and laity, found themselves very much aggrieved by certain heavy impositions; the manner as well as the thing itself being grievous to them. For whereas agents had been sent to his majestie from the protestants of this county[1] and the whole province of Ulster, to desire ease of the burthen of an army then lying upon them very heavy; these agents, when they came to court, joined and consented with other agents at the same time emploied by the papists, that the summ of six score thousand pounds should be raised and paid within a set time out of the whole kingdom; and this money thus strangely impos'd was in some places forc'd in by those soldiers which they had desired to be eased of. And in the county of Cavan a violent papist, then undersheriff, and that used much injustice and partiality towards the protestants, was made a chief actor herein. Whereupon they (being very considerable in that county and province, both for number and quality) join'd together to complain and seek more redress; which they agreed first to doe by way of a letter to the lords justices that then were the chief governors of Ireland. Their letter they had drawn up and concluded upon; only some of them moved to have the bishop's advice about it. Upon his | sight of their letter, which was too full of height and discontent, the bishop acquainted some knights and gentlemen that were active in it that he dislik'd the manner of proceeding; and somwhat he had to doe by his best persuasions to allay their spirits. Yet their respect to him was such that they desir'd him to draw up somthing himself in order to the acquainting the state with their grievances. The bishop accordingly draws up an humble petition; in which they only desire that their paiment of such imposed contributions might not be prejudicial to them, their posterity and successors for time to come; and that their lordships would forbear any farther imposition of any such burthen upon them untill they should present their humble remonstrances to his majestie. This petition the bishop of Kilmore, with two other bishops and many knights and gentlemen, subscrib'd. And it was presented to the lords jus-

[1] See Mr Prinn's *Introduccion.*

tices that then were, the lord viscount Loftus lord chancellor of Ireland and Richard lord Boyl earl of Cork.

100. But notwithstanding this moderating of the business by the bishop of Kilmore; for setting his hand to this petition and opposing his majestie's service in Ireland, he was accused also to the archbishop of Canterbury for the same. And the lord Wentworth, then design'd chief governor of Ireland (a man of great severity), was inform'd and prepossessed against him. First the archbishop falls upon him in a sharp letter, next the lord Wentworth, saying that *such men that should oppose the king's service were unworthy to be bishops;* and farther, the bishop of Kilmore's name being in among others for a commissioner in a business, he caused his name to be blotted out.

101. The bishop to assert his innocency takes up his defensive weapon, his pen (in the use whereof he was inferior but to few). And first to the lord archbishop, and then to the lord Wentworth, in large letters of his he partly excused and partly justified his action. In that to the lord Wentworth, in defence of himself he expresseth his humble thoughts thus to his lordship: *That the way ought not to be foreclosed to subjects to have recourse in humble and dutifull sort to his majestie's goodness to declare their grievances, this serving to evaporate their discontents, a good mean to keep them from festring inwardly.* It was a good while after the lord Wentworth his landing in Ireland before the bishop would goe to Dublin to wait upon him, as all or most of | the other f. 36 v°. bishops had done; and the reason was because he had declared so much displeasure against him, as we have heard. And some of his friends questioning with him why he defer-r'd so long to present himself to the lord lieutenant, he answered with that of Solomon, *If the spirit of the ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy place.* He rather chose to make his way by mollifying letters and by patience, and so in time by God's blessing this storm ceased; which as soon as the bishop understood, he took occasion to visit the lord lieutenant at Dublin, and was treated with due respect by himself and his favorites, and for a while seem'd to stand *rectus in curia,* till another occasion happen'd.

102. And this leads us to that other instance wherein the higher powers frowned upon him; and that was in the case of the bishop of Killalagh, Archibald Adaire. The case was this. A certain Scottish minister, that fled out of Scotland upon occasion of the tumults there about episcopacy and the common-prayer-book, coming into Ireland, made his case known to those in power, and in such a way as rendred the proceedings of his countrey-men (especially the covenanters) very odious. Whereupon being looked upon as a man driven out of his countrey, destitute of maintenance and zealous of episcopacy, he was soon preferr'd to a living, which happen'd to be in the bishop of Killalagh his diocese: and going thither to possess his living, there happened some differences between him and the bishop, tho' both of the Scottish nation. Whether the rise of their differences was that the bishop thought it his right to have the bestowing of the living, and this minister to be obtruded wrongfully upon him, or that this minister carried not himself dutifully and submissively to the bishop, or whether the matter was that the bishop did not sufficiently approve his flight out of Scotland into Ireland, as having more perfect intelligence concerning matters there and not taking the man's own word only; whatever the matter was, (which perhaps some yet living do more distinctly know than can here be related); in summ, being both men of high spirits, the contention grew very hot between them; and words arising, the bishop let fall some speeches that sounded too favorably towards the covenanters in Scotland, withall sharply rebuking the minister for accusing his own nation and like an unclean bird defiling his own nest. The minister thus
f. 37 r°. | entertein'd by the bishop, with the first opportunity complained of him, either immediately to the lord lieutenant Wentworth or to some that soon carried it to his ear; and that with such success, that the bishop was soon after summoned into the high-commission-court then newly erected in Ireland, there to be proceeded against and to answer his words.

103. The business upon hearing was judged so scandalous (especially in a bishop) that the court came soon to sentence. The judges of this court were the lord lieutenant, the lord chancellor, the archbishops and diverse bishops and

other men of chiefest quality in the kingdom, and among others the bishop of Kilmore. When the day for sentence came, there was no small appearance: the court was full as well of commissioners as of auditors and spectators; and after the usual manner every commissioner in a set speech deliver'd his judgement in the present case, beginning at the last, and so on to the first. There were many that spake before it came to the bishop of Kilmore, and tho' some were more favorable or not so severe as others; yet for the generality the judgement of the court was very heavy, decreeing no less than deprivation against the bishop of Killalagh, besides an heavy fine to be set on his head. When our bishop of Kilmore came to deliver his sentence, he insisted much on the tenderness and favour that still in antient times were wont to be used in case of the accusation of any bishop; the scripture itself requiring no less. And he learnedly and largely discussed the present case; but so, as his judgement differ'd much from the most of them that had spoken. And tho' he blam'd and aggravated the faults of the bishop with solid gravity and without sharpness, yet he stood much for the most favourable censure that might be possibly as most requisite and convenient in the present case: concluding with submission of this his judgement to the rest of that honourable court.

104. This carriage of this business was no way pleasing, as crossing in a manner the very designe divulg'd before the day of sentence, which was to make this bishop an example for all to take warning by. But the bishop of Kilmore had the testimony of his own conscience for him, and such solid grounds delivered in his speech as none would take in hand to overthrow. He had no manner of intimacy with the bishop that was censured, nor indeed was capable of any: both because of the distance of their habitations (the one in Connaght, the other in Ulster), and because of the national difference, the one a Scot, the other an English-man; which for the most part desire to | have as little to do the one with f. 37 v°. the other as may be. Neither had the bishop of Kilmore any party to make, nor any ready made to his hand to back him, but stood single in this matter; and so was sufficiently

check'd and chidden for his pains as a willful and singular man, to differ from the whole judgement of so honourable a court. But the bishop of Killalagh, that was censured, he indeed professed a great deal of respect to the bishop of Kilmore from that time forth, still calling him his patron: but that was a small matter to be laid in the ballance against the displeasure of the chiefest in the kingdom. But our bishop being a plain man, and not ambitious of anything but to promote God's glory and to keep the peace of his conscience, he was the better qualified to bear that burthen of men's displeasure, though grievous enough to be born.

105. It is time now to give some account of the final issue of that tedious and chargeable suit between the bishop and his chancellor: wherein, notwithstanding the unanimous engagement of all the civilians against him and those many discouragements he met withall, yet being resolv'd to see the uttermost and finding himself not fairly dealt with in the prerogative-court, he came at last to the last refuge, an appeal to the king; whereby all proceedings were stopp'd till the king's pleasure was known. And after some time (according to the usual manner in such cases) a commission issued out under the king's broad seal, nominating a certein number of men of the chiefest rank, beginning with the lord deputy himself, and so on to privy councellors, judges, archbishops, bishops, doctors of both laws, &c. and appointing those, or a certein number of them, to hear and determine the cause depending. The bishop had some hope at first this way to have obteined his purpose; which was only to have liberty to appoint his own chancellor himself, or else to correct the exorbitances of his pretended and obtruded chancellor.

106. The expectations of all men were intent upon the final issue of this cause. Some of his judges spoke favourably, as by name sir George Shirley lord chief justice of the king's-bench; who was heard to say, that *he thought it hard if a sheepherd might not have liberty to drive a wolf away from his fold.* But others were as much the other way; openly declaring their judgements against the bishop before ever the delegates came to sit. Whereupon at the first sit-

ting he put in his exceptions against one or two; allwaies saving the reverence due to their persons; and the | reasons f. 38 r°. of his exceptions were judged valid, so that those he excepted against were set by. So after a full hearing, wherein the lord chancellor Loftus was chief judge and seldom absent from the court, the matter in summo came to this final sentence: *That Mr Alane Cook* (after Dr Cook) *should still hold his place of chancellor to the bishop of Kilmore, and that the bishop should pay him the sum of* £100 *for his costs and charges during the suit.* The bishop was quite out of hope, or rather sure to loose the day, long before the cause came to this end; and was told as much by one of his judges, Lancelot lord arch-bishop of Dublin, a very loving friend of his, who was able to discern as much by what he heard and knew of the minds of the rest of his delegates.

107. The bishop of Kilmore had now done what lay in him, according to the understanding God had given him: he spared no lawfull cost nor pains to redress what was amiss in managing the jurisdiction ecclesiastical; and therefore, though he lost the day, yet he kept his conscience. That which troubled him most was to be deserted (as he was) by the rest of his brethren the bishops; who had they joined in this cause, so nearly concerning them and the well-governing and reforming of the church, as the civilians did in mainteining their worldly interest, some better issue might have followed. The bishop of Kilmore applied to himself that of the Apostle, 2 Tim. iv. 16, *No man stood with me, but all men forsook me: I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge.*

108. Mr Alane Cook, tho' now victor, yet used his victory with a great deal of ingenuity and moderation. For he never urged the bishop to pay the £100 costs that was imposed upon him by order of the court's delegates; nor did he at all grow insolent upon his success, but rather more moderate and mild than ever before: and to avoid any farther differences between the bishop and himself, he put off his place to the register Mr Richard Ash, a man that entirely lov'd the bishop and would be guided and directed by him in the execution of the place: so that after this the bishop had

somwhat a calmer time than before; but it was not long; for after some few years the nation's peace and his life expired: of which more hereafter.

109. It will not be amiss now to present to the world the more free and retired thoughts of the bishop touching these his troubles and touching his own condition in his
f. 38 v°. episcopal function, as they are set down | by himself in his familiar letters to Dr Despotine. It hath been hinted heretofore how intimate the friendship was between these two. For as in joy and grief, in mutual freedom and openness, in help and counsel, so even in reprehension they were faithfull each to other. The doctor did not stick often to blame him for employing his time and abilities no better than in suits and wrangling business. The bishop's defence for himself was in these very words: *God doth know how unwilling I spend my time and pains and means in such mean employments. But there is no remedy, unless I would resigne my bishopricks, which I could be very willing to do. On the other side, I consider that I never desir'd this place, and being call'd to it by God, I must not choose mine own work, but do that little good I can, and leave the rest to God.* And in another letter, giving an account to the doctor why he would resigne one of his bishopricks, he writes thus: *For my part I wish I were rid not of one only, but of both, rather than spend my life in lawing and riding up and down; especially with so little furtherance from some who might (I will not say ought to) have afforded more favour, or equity at least, than I have hitherto found.* And again, speaking of the resignation of the bishoprick of Ardagh, his own words are: *God doth know, I would be more willingly rid of it than eat my dinner when I am hungry; having found nothing since I came into this calling but troubles and suits and wranglings.* And again, he expresseth himself thus: *I might be an happy man if I were rid of my jurisdiction and all the profits of both my bishopricks, reserving meat and drink and cloathing.* Such were the thoughts and expressions of this good bishop touching his calling and the troubles that attended him therein.

110. The bishop had some friends in England of some place and power about the court. The most real were the

earl of Holland and sir Thomas Jermin vicechamberlain to the king. The doctor still communicated the affairs of the bishop with sir Thomas; and the bishop himself wrote frequently to him. Sir Thomas's love and respect to him were such, as he laboured to remove him into some bishoprick into England; which purpose and endeavour of his the doctor comming to understand, could not hold for joy, but must needs hint it in his letters to bishop Bedell. His friends at court thought this | an honourable way to take him f. 39 r°. off his troubles and render themselves capable of enjoying him; which at so great a distance they could not do. But it was not thought fit by the more potent at court to have him over into England. The doctor certified the bishop both who and why; and nextly the reader shall understand bishop Bedell's own sense of this business.

111. Before he was advanc'd to the bishopricks, there was some mediation by letters from sir Thomas Jermin to the lord deputy Falkland to confer the deanery of Christ-Church in Dublin upon him, the present dean Dr Barlow being upon his advance to the arch-bishoprick of Tuam; and the lord deputy openly professed his purpose to do it. But when it came to the point, the imputation of puritanism by some at court lost him the deanery and had like to have put him by the bishopricks also. And herein his own expectation was fullfilled. *My lord deputy* (saith he in a letter to the doctor) *professeth his purpose to confer the deanery upon me, and signified to me lately that he had received from sir Thomas Jermin very effectual letters in my commendation. I know not what will be; but in conclusion, I think nothing.*

112. After he was bishop, there were several endeavours by his friends to have him remov'd into England, of which himself writes thus: *Now for that which toucheth me and my removal, God doth know I desire it not: nay I desire rather that it may not be: not but that the love of my countrey moves me and the society of yourself and other my friends, but because, if I be fit for any thing, I conceive I may do God and his majestie better service here than I can in England: here, where my deafness and other defects are better covered with difference of languages, and my different course in some things*

pertaining to jurisdiction is justified by the exorbitant courses that have been holden by my opposites. There I should draw the hatred of all men upon me, and yet do no good. Again, mentioning his suits with his chancellor and others for the rights of his church, he thus expresseth himself: *God knows how unwilling I am to spend my better time upon them: but there is no remedy. As for that remedy you write of, mention'd by sir Thomas Jermin, it is worse than the disease. I have not failed, nor yet shall fail to suggest to those that are in place, what I think perteins to the safety of the common*
f. 39 v°. *ship, wherein we all sail: but I am glad the | opinion of one too-vehement, or any thing else may bar me from that employment.* And in another letter again thus: *As for the thoughts of removing into England, let it never come to the mind of any of my friends: God hath brought me hither, and I have begun to lay some foundation here; which, if God will, I shall endeavour to build upon: Hic requies mea in saeculum.*

113. Some would scarsely account a life of so many labours and so many troubles to be *requies*, a rest. But yet this good bishop did as a good christian should do, he did acquiesce in what portion God had laid out for him; and yet for the rest of his life still behind to be related, we shall find him as little at rest (according to the common notion of the word) as before. For besides what is allready set down, two very great labours lay both together upon him for divers years together before his death, of different natures, but both tending to the same end, which were these; the building of all the churches in his diocese, and the translating the Old Testament into the Irish tongue.

114. As for the building the churches, the reader must know that when this work was first taken in hand, there were not five churches in his whole diocese, but were all ruin'd, so as scarsly the walls were left standing in some places. The reason was, that the land had been much harass'd with war, and the people were but few and poor in those northern parts, and all too-backward, both English and Irish, to such good works as building of churches. But God stirred up the spirit of his majestie to give commissions by his vice-gerents in Ireland for the setting forward of this pious work. And

among other men of principal quality the bishop was the first and chief commissioner. This occasioned him many hard journeys, first to view the several churches, then to meetings of the commissioners at several times and places for the assessing of every parish and taking accounts when the work was done. And as his labours, so his charges were very great by reason of this business, and, which was worst of all, he found very corrupt dealing. Moneys collected were wasted or spent, or some way converted to men's private uses, and the work neglected. With all which difficulties he so struggled and encountred, that before his death all the churches were repair'd and fit for the people to meet in for God's service; had the people been as willing to meet in them.

115. That other labour of his comes next to be con- f. 40 r.
sidered; and that was the translation of the Old Testament into the Irish tongue. The bishop judg'd the scriptures as essential to the church as the building of stone-walls, and that it more properly belonged to his care and function to open the fountains and clear the channells of these waters of comfort for Christ's sheep. He expected no commission from man for this undertaking; but acted by virtue of Christ's commission. Nor did the mean and slight esteem which some had of his designe herein a whit remove him from prosecuting the same with all his might. He had the example of a reverend archbishop of that kingdom, William Daniel sometimes archbishop of Tuam, who caused the New Testament and common-prayer-book to be translated into Irish and printed, out of his zeal for the salvation of the people. And the bishop of Kilmore thought it a good work to add the Old Testament also.

116. For this purpose he enquir'd out the ablest men he could to employ about the work; and among diverse that he made trial of, two especially he employed, Mr Murtagh King and Mr James Nangle. Both these men, when first the bishop came acquainted with them, were papists; but being Irishmen, and more knowing than the ordinary sort, they were so ingenuous and well-affected to their own nation and language as to afford their help to this work. Mr King

was the chief translator, and the other was the reviewer and correcter. They had their enterteinment at the bishop's house as long and as often as any comparing and reviewing work was in hand: wherein the bishop allwaies made one, and through the skill he had attain'd in that language he contributed not a little to the work. Besides these translators he had a servant, an Irishman, that could write exactly well; and he writ out fair, sheet by sheet, as they translated and corrected.

117. It pleased God while this work was in hand to incline the hearts of both the translators to the embracing of the reformed religion: God's Spirit and those scriptures, and the bishop's gentle and able way of reasoning and answering their objections, all concurring together to the changing of their judgements. And so in conclusion the work was finished and fair written ready for the press, a little before that dismal time of trouble, rebuke and blasphemy, wherein God call'd His faithful servant to Himself.

f. 40 v°. 118. Thus we have seen not a perfect, but true relation of the troublesome life of this good bishop. What remains is to take a view of his end, which was every way suitable to the former progress of his life, and as to outward sufferings, surmounting whatsoever had before befallen him. And herein we may observe (as in multitude of other the like examples, both former and later) that God's way with the choicest of his in this life is to exercise and train them for heaven by the most eminent trialls and afflictions, even as the glorious Captain of our salvation was made perfect through sufferings. God will have the ablest and choicest Christians to be the compleatest sufferers: a lesson legible in capital letters all along the series of God's providence; but yet learned by heart but by very few. But, God be blessed, our good bishop will appear to have studied it to some purpose.

119. And here the reader must be entreated to understand a little the quality of the countrey where the bishop's seat was, and what neighbours he liv'd among. His house was situate in the county of Cavan in the province of Ulster in Ireland, in a countrey consisting alltogether of hills very steep and high, the valleys between being most commonly

boggs and loughs; the countrey was then meetly well planted with English, but scatteringly here and there, which facilitated their ruine. The only considerable town in the whole county was Belterbert, which yet was but as one of our ordinary market-towns here in England, having but only one church in it. This town was seven miles distant from the bishop's house. The town of Cavan itself being the county town was nearer, about two miles distant from Kilmore, but not so big by one half as Belterbert. Excepting these two towns there was nothing considerable in the county. Kilmore itself was but a meer countrey village, of good large bounds, but so thinly inhabited that no where in the whole parish any street or part of a street was to be found. There was a competent number of English, but the Irishmen more than five times their number; and all these obstinate papists. The bishop's house join'd close to the church, being built upon one of the highest hills in the countrey, not near any neighbour of any quality by a mile.

120. In this posture, alltogether unfit both for offence and defence, in a manner solitary and naked and exposed to any insolencies, our bishop being then at home, was on a suddain environ'd and involv'd with that horrible and ever-lamentable rebellion. It was in several respects an astonishing accident, not admitting any consultation or attempt for opposition against it. There was not the least suspicion in the English of any such thing, nor could they at first conceive or believe the depth of the wickedness, no not when they had in part felt the bitter effect thereof. And that place was so far distant from Dublin that no intelligence could be had: God had cover'd them with a cloud in that day of His anger. f. 41 r°.

121. There wanted not some forerunning tokens of this calamity, but they were not heeded. As the manifest height and fullness of sin in all ranks and sorts of men; pride, gluttony, uncleanness, deceipt, oppression, extortion, and a supine neglect of religion and the worship of God and of the eternal concernments of precious souls, these were general: but more particular and relating especially to those parts wer these.

122. A strange multitude of ratts, in a manner overrunning the houses and so bold as to come in view in the day time and to gather the crumbs and bones under the table, which was a thing so much the more remarkable, because that till a little before the rebellion, for many years' space, seldom any rat was to be seen in the countrey. And the elder Irishwomen would say often and openly that *these rats were a signe of war.* Another very strange thing was seen about a mile from Kilmore, not far from the house of Edmund O-Rely the chief gentleman of that name and the chief actor in spoiling and killing the English, and this not long neither before the rebellion. In a plot of ground by the high way a strange number of insects or worms of the length of a man's finger and of a strange fashion were observed for some weekes, and many went to see them. They lay for the most part within the ground, which they had turned up and fill'd with their cells and caverns; so that the whole surface of the ground where they encamp'd was wholy bare of any green thing to be seen.

f. 41 v°. 123. A third, the most remarkable token, was given by a mad man, and therefore the less heeded. This distracted man was a very accute scholar, that had craked his brain with too much study; and being also very poor, partly out of necessity, and partly out of his running fancy, pass'd up and down from one gentlemans' house to another, and so got his livelyhood. Among other places of his resort the bishop's house and ministers' houses had their turns; tho' the man was for nation Irish, and for religion popish. It seems by that which follows, that he had been in company where discourses had passed concerning that their horrid plot against the English. His manner was to speak in Latin, when he came among scholars; and wherever he could light upon pen and ink, he would be scribbling upon paper or book, what came next to hand. But both in his speaking and writing the shatterdness of his brain did appear; for his words and sentences were for the most part inconsistent with one another. Being enterteined at a minister's house not long before the rebellion first brake out, he was observed to be extreamly sad, contrary to his usual manner, which was

rather a merry kind of madness. In that minister's house, walking up and down and sighing, he diverse times was heard to utter these words: *Where is king Charles now?* This sentence he had up several times, with some other odd whimsies between. Besides this, he had gotten an old almanack, which he had all scribled over on the one side, and, among other broken sentences, there was this written: *We doubt not of France and Spain in this action.* These expressions were taken notice of; but comming from a distracted man, for [the] present were thought to signify nothing; till being put together and commented upon by the rebellion in bloudy characters, they were found and felt to be very significant. The things that belonged to their peace were then hid from their eyes, and it was the holy will of God that that cup should not pass away.

124. Yet the bishop had very strange respect in such a time as that was. For all the countrey round about and in a manner the whole county was dispeopled of the English, before any violence was used either to his house or his person. The manner of his behaviour and the occurrences that he encountred withall in that sad time, the reader may please to take as followeth.

125. There was one and the same day set for the first rising of the Irish all over the nation, which was Saturday the 23rd of October 1641. But yet, even in Ulster itself, the north part of Ireland, where the rebells were most forward and fierce in that bloudy action, they did not proceed in all places with the same fury. In the county of Cavan they carried their business at first with a kind of hesitation; here and there some particular houses of the English were spoiled, and that was all. The chief of the Irish gentlemen there, being of the name of the O-Relys, rather sought to persuade the English by fair words and promises to depart the countrey, than to fall upon them at first by plain force. The chief of these O-Relys not dwelling far from the bishop's, came frequently to visit him at his house, especially Philip McMullmore O-Rely. And tho' the daily report of cruelties acted about in the countrey came so thick, that the business they were in hand with could not be hidden any longer; yet these

f. 42 r°.

O-Relys still gave comfortable words to the bishop; and for a week or fortnight's space, did not so much as take away any of his cattel. But before the first fortnight was expired there began to come a great confluence of poor stripped English people to the bishop's house for some shelter; like Job's messengers bringing one sad report after another without intermission. They heard that the bishop was yet permitted the enjoyment of his house and goods, and the place was near to fly unto, and thither they were glad to retire.

126. The bishop most freely entertein'd all that came, and fill'd all his out-houses with those guests, as many as could sit one by another. Those that he knew to be of better quality, tho' as then levell'd with the meanest, he receiv'd into his dwelling house: and thus for a little while those poor distress'd creatures were refreshed there. But the Irish had an evil eye at this goodness and charity of the bishop, and used all their skill to hinder his enterteinment of the poor strip'd English: as first by forewarning him not any longer to entertein those enemies and to spend provision upon them. This message the chief of the O-Rellys sent to
f. 42 v°. the bishop; | and when that prevailed not, he came himself and told him the same, threatning to take another course, unless he would forbear. The bishop's answer was, that *he could not in charity but pitty and relieve those poor distressed Christians;* and withall earnestly besought him to use his power for the restraining the rage of the multitude against them. But this prevailed so little, as that rather it did exasperate that cruel man the more. And therefore, tho' some other of the Irish gentlemen (as Luke Dillon esq. and Philip McMulmore O'-Relly) labour'd to mitigate and soften his mind toward the bishop, yet being chief of them all and lord of that countrey (after the Irish account), he would go on his own way: and after many threatning speeches to the bishop (which he still meekly answered with some pious and religious returns), this tempter departed from him for a season.

127. But in the night time he sent men to the bishop's out-houses, where those poor English lay, who stripp'd them over again of what little covering they had gotten, and

frighted them with their drawn skeans to drive them away from thence. And lamentable it was to hear the shrieks and outcries of those desolate comfortless people, who had no remedy but to fly where they could, in a dark, cold night, from the rage of these persecutors. And some of them, rather than by their stay to bring any mischief to the bishop, chose to committ themselves to God's providence, and so wander away allmost naked, God knows whether. Others shifting out of the way for the present, when they could with most privacy would return to their old shelter; and besides such there came daily other new guests; all which, while the bishop had wherewithall, were daily provided for.

128. But Edmund O-Relly would no longer bear this expense of provision, which he said must be for the maintenance of the souldiers. And therefore in short space a course was taken that the bishop's cattell, some by night and some by day, were driven all off his ground. They begun with the oxen and cows; next they seized upon the horses both abroad and in the stable; and lastly they took away the sheep out of the court- | yard. All this in a stealing filching f. 43 r°. way, most what by night, as if they would seem not altogether to own their enterprize. But afterward it was well known that the cattel were conveyed to Edmund O-Relly's land and there kept.

129. The bishop, for all this, still relieved many poore stripped people in his out-houses. But it was a most grievous and daily burthen to his heart (as needs it must to any Christian), that he was forc'd to hear and see the cries and cruel sufferings of those poor and naked people daily under his walls and windows: the common rascality of the Irish still daily gathering together about the house, as ravens about a carcass, and growing more and more insolent, especially those few among them who had gotten any kind of arms.

130. One time amongst the rest, when a company of Irish, and among them some few with musquets, were rifling and tearing among those allmost-naked people the cry was so great and dolefull that the good bishop would needs go out himself to their rescue. Those about him judg'd it very

hazardous, and labour'd to disswade him. But notwithstanding all their persuasions he would needs go out, taking three others in his company all unarmed: only the bishop himself had a good long staff in his hand, that was handsomely carv'd and coloured, which an Irish gentleman had sent him as a present some years before. As soon as they perceiv'd the bishop, they left harassing the poor English and fled about a stone's cast; and then two or three musqueteers made a stand and presented their musquetts right against the bishop's breast. But the bishop still went on and clapp'd his hand upon his breast and bid them shoot there, rather than to offer violence to those miserable people. And God was pleas'd hereupon so to awe them, that they dismounted their musquetts and went away.

131. From henceforth the bishop was more closely beseiged (or rather taken) in his own house: nothing without-doors being now left, nor any freedom or safety to him or any with him within, but at the courtesy of the Irish, which (in comparison to what others met withall) was very much. For they suffer'd the bishop thus to continue and in some measure to enjoy himself, from the first beginning of the rebellion
f. 43 v°. October 23rd, till | near upon Christmas following. And tho' he was prohibited from protecting or relieving any without the doors of his dwelling house, yet those that were within the ark with him were all this while free from violence, through God's gracious and allmighty protection: whose holy name be therefore prais'd and magnified for ever.

132. The reader shall next be acquainted with some passages that occurred while the bishop thus continued in his own house. As first, that even then and there (the house joining close to the church) they had the comfort of God's publick and solemn worship on the Lord's-days: the bishop and two or three other ministers performing the duties of that day in reading the scriptures, publick praiers and the preaching of the word, without any considerable interruption. Then farther they had the comfort of private prayers and conference between the bishop and some ministers and others of the better sort of the English that had taken sanctuary in the bishop's house. The present streights were excellent

means to stir them up and to dispose them to a more serious and heavenly managing of those duties: neither could they want the comfort of singing psalms and praises unto God even in this their sad captivity. In all which holy exercises the good bishop led them on, and by his truly-heroick and chearfull deportment in this his Christian academy, or school of affliction, was no small encouragement to their sad hearts.

133. But as there were these encouragements, so withall there wanted not discouragements, able to break a well-established heart. For the bishop's well-settelled and resolved mind was doubly assail'd all this while. First by the Irish, who, tho' they did forbear him as we have seen, yet labour'd and desired very earnestly to have him go out of the country. And as they professed much friendship to him, so they often told him of his unsafety and danger in that place and condition wherein he then stood; and offer'd him (if he pleased) to see him and his company safely guarded and convey'd to Dublin, or what other place he should choose.

134. This they often and earnestly offer'd. But the bishop told them *he could not nor would of his own choice desert his place and calling that God had set him in: but if by force they would put him out, he would then cast himself upon God's providence.* | And another thing was also in the f. 44 r°. way to hinder his embracing such a motion, namely the sad experience of many, who, having accepted of guards and convoys from the Irish, were in their passage betraied and stripped, and sometimes murthered outright, by those that undertook to guard them.

135. But however others far'd, those English that were with the bishop in his house had a confident persuasion, that if he would have accepted a convoy for Dublin, he might have pass'd safe, and so have been a means of bringing them safely off also. And accordingly they all did in a manner continually lie at him to take a guard of the Irish and begon. And among others his own children helped (not a litle) to break his Christian courage. But all was in vain: he was allwaies ready to answer such as did solicite him with some savory and pious apothegme or other: as that *it was a*

shame for a bishop to be affraid of death; that *it was a great weakness to be impatient in times of suffering.* To which purpose he brought in a saying related by an ancient writer, as represented in a vision from God unto him: *Pati non vultis; exire non vultis: quid faciam vobis?* In English thus: *You are unwilling to suffer; you are unwilling to die: what shall I do unto you?* And farther he would alledge, that *for his own part he was ancient, and if God so pleased, willing and desirous rather to die there than in another place.* And to his children he said, that *if they would go, they should have his leave and furtherance and blessing; but for his own part, he was resolved not to stirr till he was forc'd from his place.*

136. When they saw his resolution thus settled they ceased: and most of them that were thus shelter'd with him took their opportunities (the best they could), some at one time and some at another, and departed to Dublin. But the difficulties and dangers, the frights and insolencies they suffered, and the strange and miraculous waies of escape which God made out for them, each man in a different manner, would make a tragical history; yet not alltogether so, forasmuch as they all escaped with their lives, *per tot discrimina rerum;* and | as St Paul's fellow-passengers, *some on bourds, and some on broken pieces of the ship,* were all at last safely landed at Dublin.

f. 44 v°.

137. Some weeks and allmost months thus passing, and the fury of the rebellion being somewhat cooled, and nothing being now left to be taken as pillage or plunder from the English, nor in a manner any of the English nation left in the countrey, the Irish began to think how they might secure what they had thus possessed themselves of. The only work they had to do was to take some course with the bishop of Kilmore, who was all this while at their mercy, and to reduce two castles that stood out upon their own defence. These castles were defended by two Scottish knights, that were of the Brittish, that had fled for refuge into them (with their neighbours and tenants), who were the owners of them.

138. As for the bishop, tho' all his cattell were taken

from him, yet his corn (whereof he had a great quantity) and all his substance within doors still remained. This booty the Irish had a long time expected, only having as yet spared the bishop, they would not proceed to the rifling of his house or seizing of his person without some seeming urgent provocation thereunto. And for want of a better they laid hold on this. Those Scottish knights that stood upon their defence, as is above related, had several times made out small parties to bring in provision, which how small soever were a very great terror to the Irish. And at one time above all the rest a party going out, they happen'd upon some persons of such quality among the Irish, as they thought it might be some advantage to themselves to take them as prisoners. These castles of the Scottish knights had a long time stoutly defended themselves and as dreadfully vex'd the Irish with but a very small company of men. But of all other indignities this of taking prisoners did most trouble them; and the rather because one of the prisoners was a chief man of the O-Rellys. But being a people of a base courage, unable to help themselves by any warlik exploit, they fell upon the unarmed bishop and took this occasion to seize upon his house and goods. |

139. There was also another thing that put on the f. 45 r°.
designe; and that was the urgent importunity of the popish bishop, or anti-bishop of Kilmore. For the reader must know, it was the common condition of all Ireland in those daies to have in every diocese two bishops, and in each parish two priests, the one popish, the other protestant. The popish bishop claimed his house and his church, unjustly detein'd from him by one in their account an heretick.

140. Therefore Edmund O-Relly, the chief man of that stock or family, and lord of the countrey, comes to the bishop's house, not as formerly in a peaceable manner, but with countenance, company, and language, more composed to terror and revenge. He searched the house for arms and seiz'd upon those few that were; he threatned and upbraided the bishop for what the Scotts had done in frighting the countrey and taking prisoners; and told him that both Scotts and English should know that the Irish could take prisoners

as well as they: and without many words the said Edmund O-Relly himself laid his hand on the bishop's shoulder, with these words: *I arrest you in the king's name; you are my prisoner.* The bishop, with a chearfull countenance, answer'd him to this effect: that *he did not know wherein he had offended the king's majestie; neither could he believe he had the king's authority for what he then did: but however,* that *he should yield to the power then in his hand;* withall putting him in mind, that *there was a God who would judge righteously.*

141. But O-Relly, not standing to word it with his prisoner, called for an account of what was in the house, especially the plate, which was presently brought forth. It was not much: the chief was plate belonging to the church, which the bishop at his own cost had caused to be made not long before and had dedicated to the church; a large flagon, a chalice, and a patin, with this inscription, *Ecclesiae Kilmorensis.* This the bishop told O-Relly was the churche's, and not his; and therefore desired it might not be converted to any other use, but be committed to his brother (as he call'd him), meaning the popish bishop, who also had been inquisitive not only after the plate but all the rest of the bishop's
f. 45 v°. goods, which he counted his part of the spoil, and | more properly belonging to himself. The church-plate O-Relly durst not deny him, wherein Bishop Bedell's desire was fulfilled; and as for the rest of the goods, there was a contest between the popish bishop and O-Relly: but they made a shift to agree in the parting as well as the taking. The greatest thing that stuck with our good bishop was his library, yet some little satisfaction he had by thinking it should come into the hands of scholars; for O-Relly told him, *such things should be left to the bishop.*

142. Bishop Bedell being thus arrested by Edmund O-Relly, had only one night's lodging more in his own house. For the next morning O-Relly with very much verbal kindness and civility acquainted him that 'twas resolv'd he must be secur'd in a castle not far off, in the midst of a great lough, above canon-shot from any shore, called Loughwater-castle: and as for his moneys, he told him they would leave

him that to live on: as for his children, they might remain somwhere in the countrey. The bishop had two sonns and their wives, partners and spectators with him in all these troubles; and it was to them a very hard thing to be parted from the company of their father, whether in life or death: and therefore the bishop made it his request that they might go along with him to the castle; and with much ado it was at last granted.

143. When the time was come that the bishop and his company were to be sent to the castle; the bishop's own horses being taken away long before, O-Relly was so civil as to furnish them all with horses, and so with a small guard conveighed them to the water side, and so by boat wafted them over to the castle, standing in the midst of a great lough or lake. In the passage the bishop behav'd himself with a strange measure of chearfullness, telling his sons, whom he saw somwhat dejected, That *he bless'd God for that day, wherein he was pleased to honour him so far as to call him to suffer somthing for his name:* and said farther, *He thanked God that he found himself as chearfull and joifull, as ever he was upon his marriage-day:* but alas! there were none so furnish'd for such a trial as to answer the bishop with the like Christian fortitude, either in heart or voice: yet it was no small comfort to all the company to have such a champion.

| 144. Being come into the castle they were accommo- f. 46 r°.
dated well. The governor, Mr Owen O-Relly, formerly a tenant to the bishop, and a very civil and honest gentleman, used the bishop with all possible courtesie. The place itself was very commodious for room and lodging, and there was also good company, Mr Arthur Callum and Mr William Castleton, fellow-prisoners with the bishop. Neither wanted there any provision, for by the care of the governor they were furnish'd with sufficient for their money. They had free liberty to exercise their religion together in a chamber for themselves, with very strict charge from the governor that none should interrupt them. And it was no small privilege that there they were free from the insolencies of the common people: in this only being in the condition of

prisoners, that some of them for some time were forc'd to wear iron-bolts; which honour the bishop was very ambitious of, and desir'd that he might excuse all the rest, or else bear them company in this suffering, but it was denied.

145. In this posture our good bishop and his fellow-prisoners kept their Christmas, not with carding, revelling, or wantonness, but in prayer, doctrine, exhortation, godly conference. Besides the private comfort of which holy exercises God was pleas'd to send in some comfortable news by a strange way concerning the publick; which was thus. The English in those parts (those few that were left), by reason of the great distance from Dublin, were kept from all intelligence but what the Irish pleas'd to communicate, and that was only such as might terrify them and render their condition hopeless of any succour or relief whatever. All their discourses in the audience of the English were still of the successes of their army: as of that sad defeat of the five hundred men, the first that took the field for the English cause, and were intended for the strengthning of Droghedagh; of their firm union together by reason of the conjunction of the lords of the pale with the rest of the rebells, and especially the siege of Droghedagh, and even of the taking of the city: which they so confidently affirm'd that they named the very day, and in their reports divided the spoil, as the mother of Sisera: this was the chear the poor English had to keep Christmas.

f. 46 v°. | 146. But it happen'd that in the castle where the bishop was prisoner, one night a soldier, newly-come from Droghedagh, was entertein'd by some of the guards, who kept their court in the lowest rooms. In the night late some of the guard question'd the souldier, *what news there was from Droghedagh.* One of the English prisoners that understood Irish, being just over their heads, laid his ear to a clift in the plancher and listned to their discourse. The souldier told them plainly that *the siege was broken up,* and shew'd them his own hands and arms, all scratch'd and rent with thorns and briars, while he was in a hasty retreat from an assault they had made upon the city. He told them also that *the bulletts pour'd down as thick from the walls as if one should*

take a fire-pan full of coals and pour them down upon the hearth; which he acted before them, sitting all together at the fire. And for his own part, he said, *he would be hang'd before he would go forth again upon such a piece of service.* He that listned soon communicated this good news to his fellow-prisoners; whereby it pleased God to revive their spirits not a little; but they were fain with all diligence to keep the matter to themselves.

147. After Christmas, without the bishop's desire or good-liking, had it been in his choice, his removal from the castle was effected thus. Some special friends of the bishop, Luke Dillon, Esqr., Philip M^c^Mullmore O-Relly, Mr Dennis Sheridon, did intercede for his enlargement with Edmund O-Relly, that then had the chief command of the countrey; who tho' willing to have that castle, their chief magazine, clear'd of the English prisoners; yet he liked it well so to be sought to for their enlargement. Nor was that all; but another solemnity must be observ'd also. For he requir'd an exchange of those that the Scottish knights had taken prisoners, that they might be set at liberty in lieu of the bishop and his company. And accordingly persons were sent to treat with the Scotts, whose respect to the bishop mov'd them to consent to an exchange which the bishop could not deny, knowing it to be the desire of those in whose power he was then.

| 148. All being agreed, and the time concluded upon, f. 47 r^.^
the bishop and his children were set at liberty; but such a liberty as was more dangerous than the former imprisonment. As for his own house, that was in possession of Edmund O-Relly and the popish bishop, and thither they would not suffer him to return. So that now he, that was wont to give entertainment to others, had no place to hide his head but at others courtesy. He had his choice of two places, both not much above a mile distant from his house. One was the house of Luke Dillon, Esqr., brother to the then Earl of Roscommon, who very importunately invited him to abide with him, till they might have a safe conduct to Dublin. The other was the house of Mr Dennis Sheridon, an Irish man, and of a family, tho' inferior to the O-Rellys, yet nume-

rous and potent in the countrey. This man had been educated from his childhood in the protestant-religion, in the house of a very reverend and godly divine, Mr Hill, sometime dean of Killmore; by whom he was so well principled, that he allwaies stood firm to the protestant-religion. The bishop of Kilmore took allwaies a special notice and liking of him; and for his good conversation and skill in the Irish language he promoted him to the ministry and bestow'd on him a church-living; where the inhabitants being all Irish, an Englishman had been unable in any sort to discharge that duty, incumbent upon a minister to such a people.

149. This man, tho' a protestant and a minister, yet being Irish, and of a name and family powerfull in that countrey, was exempted from that violence which then protestants sadly suffer'd from the Irish. To his house the bishop made choice rather to retire; which indeed was a common asylum, or sanctuary, to as many distress'd English as it could contein. Here the bishop had the most loving and best accommodacions that the house could afford. And all the chief of the name, Sheridons, out of their love to their kinsman and the bishop now sojourning with him, did often express and promise their utmost endeavours, to the hazard of their lives, to secure them and the house from any violence whatever.

f. 47 v°. | 150. While the bishop liv'd here, being not above a mile from his own house, he had a desire to hearken after his library, which he had left there; and if it might be to have the use of some books and papers of his own. Wherein by Mr Sheridon his means he had his desire. For he, having some familiar acquaintance with the popish-bishop, had liberty to go where the books were, and so procur'd for our bishop his desk, and some other books and papers at several times, as he saw his best opportunity. And among the rest (as Dr Bernard in his character of this bishop hath published), by the care of this Mr Sheridon, the bishop's MS. Hebrew Bible was preserv'd and brought away out of the Irish's hands; and is now, according to the bishop's last will and testament, in the Library of Emmanuel College in Cambridge.

151. As for the rest of his library, some of them were taken away by friars and by priests that had frequent access to their bishop while he there continued. The rest were little regarded by the Irish; and as soon as any alarum of the approach of English forces could reach that countrey, the Irish, after their usual manner, fled to the mountains and woods; not troubling themselves with such luggage as books, but leaving them behind for booty to the English souldiers. And so what enemies left, friends took away. And so miserable a comforter is war, that those that should have reliev'd the forlorn and desperate affairs of the English did but add to their affliction and oppression. The bishop's books went every way but the right; and some of his sermons were preach'd in Dublin, and heard there by some of Bishop Bedell's near relations that had formerly heard them from his own mouth: and some of the episcopal order were not innocent in this case; and 'tis more than probable, that some of them are still beholding to Bishop Bedell's papers, that never would own his righteous cause when alive and upon the stage, in the cause and quarrel of Jesus Christ, as a spectacle to the world, to angels, and to men.

152. But to return to the bishop. He continued some weeks in the house of Mr Sheridon in some good measure of health; and during that time his manner was to pray in the family himself every day, as he formerly us'd to do in his own; and upon the | Lord's daies he spent the day with f. 48 r°. the company that was there, in prayer and preaching of the word, both forenoon and afternoon, as long as health permitted. For the manner of this bishop was never to make use of a chaplain (tho' he had still one or other in his house) either to pray in his family or to give thanks at his table; unless in case of some young man that intended the ministry, whose gifts he had a desire to take some trial of. And as for preaching he seldom omitted a Lord's day, while he enjoy'd his place and was at home, without doing some part or all the works of that day. In this course he held on till the last, when his diocese was reduced but to one family.

153. And now the time drew near which God had des-

tinated to put an end to his labours; the manner whereof was thus. In the house of Mr Sheridon (being very full of English, who shelter'd themselves there,) it pleas'd God that a grieveous sickness fell among them. It was a violent and continued feaver, commonly call'd by the name of the Irish-ague. It usually distracted the patient more or less. It was very infectious, usually passing through a family, where once it seiz'd. To ancient people most commonly 'twas mortal, and that in little space. Those of younger years that escaped, were sure to be brought very low and to be a long time ere they could recover their strength. Most of the English in the house were sorely visited with this ague, and some ended their daies; having this comfort, that they were not suffer'd to fall into the hands of men, but were taken away by the immediate hand of a mercifull God.

154. Among others, the bishop's wife's-son by a former husband was taken sick of this ague, and being not so well accommodated as he could have desir'd, (if the place and present condition of things could have afforded better,) the bishop was the more sollicitous about him, and would be too often at his bed. By this means it pleas'd God that himself also was taken with this pestilential and deadly ague, which in a few daies took away his appetite, and by consequence his strength; so as he was scarsely able to go or stand, but was necessitated to go to his bed. But yet before evening he would constrain himself to rise and pray with the family;
f. 48 v°. till at last the force of the disease so far prevailed | that, being in prayer, his speech failed him, and he was not able to articulate his words. And before this he complain'd that he could neither command his mind nor yet his tongue, either to conceive or express what he intended and desir'd.

155. When he was become thus weak, among others that came to visit him, one of more principal note, that bore a great affection to him, and yet a zealous papist, may deserve especially to be mention'd. It was Philip McMullmore O-Relly, brother to him that imprison'd the bishop. This gentleman from the very first spake openly against the rebellion and whoever were contrivers of it, and in his ordinary discourses would curse them bitterly. He being come

to see the bishop, after some few words, (which he hardly could utter for tears,) he besought the bishop, if *he wanted money, or any other necessaries, to make use of any thing that he was able to furnish him withall.* To which the bishop, rising up out of his chair, made return, thanking him for his great civility, desiring God to requite him for the same, and to restore peace to the nation: being hardly able to stand, and yet beyond expectation expressing himself without any faultring in his speech, which he had not done for a great while before. After this he seldom spake, and but brokenly. Being sometimes asked how he did, his answer was still *Well;* nor did there appear, by any excessive heat or groaning or otherwise, that he felt any great pain. Being himself not able to speak, others often went to prayer by his bed's-side; and he, by the elevation of his eyes and affectionate pronouncing the word *Amen*, when he never else was heard to speak, testified his concurrence in that duty.

156. Drawing now near his dissolution, when his breathing was turn'd into panting, his sons craving his blessing, he express'd himself thus: *God bless you, and bring you to eternal life.* When they had receiv'd his blessing, and saw him hastening away, they brake forth into tears, and fell a weeping over him, not thinking ever to have heard him speak more. But on a suddain looking up, even when death was allready in his eyes, he spake unto them thus: *Be of good chear; be of good chear: whether we live or die, we are the Lord's.* And these were his last words.

| 157. Thus this good bishop ended his daies: a man f. 49 r°.
eminent for godliness, integrity, humility, learning, laboriousness in his calling, zeal for the reformation of the church; and, above all, eminent in trials and sufferings. When he was dead, the popish bishop at first would not suffer him to be buried in the church-yard of Kilmore, because he was, as he accounted, an heretick. But O-Relly and the chief of the Irish gentlemen overul'd the bishop in that, and liberty was given to bury him where himself had appointed in his last will and testament.

158. So great an enemy he was to worldly pomp and vanity, that his very grave and burial may be a monument

hereof to posterity, concerning which he appoints thus: *For this corruptible flesh, I appoint that it be committed to the ground, without any funeral pomp, in the church-yard of Kilmore, at the south corner thereof, in the same grave, or hard by the corps of my dear wife Leah, and my son John; about whose coffins and mine, I do appoint, that there be a stone wall raised from the ground, and one or more large grave-stones laid over, with this inscription: GULIELMI QUONDAM KILMORENSIS EPISCOPI DEPOSITUM.* He allwaies bore a reverend respect to the place of God's publick worship; and upon all occasions was wont to testify his dislike of burying dead bodies within those walls, both as savouring of pride in death, and a vain affectation of worldly pomp; and also as a kind of prophanation of that place destinated to a more spiritual and holy use. For himself, he took a sure course to avoid it; choosing the remotest corner of the church-yard to be the burying place for him and his: where, according to his own appointment, his corps was interr'd.

159. Onely in one thing his will was not fullfill'd, because the Irish would have their wills; and out of their affection to him would needs accompany him to his grave, not without some kind of pomp. The manner was thus. When the day appointed for his burial was come, the Irish, in a considerable number, resorted to the house; especially those of the Sheridon's, being of the same name with the minister in whose house he died; and some of the principal of them would needs be the bearers. When the company had passed something above half way to the church, Edmund O-Relly that had imprison'd him and dispossess'd him of all, (being then resident in the bishop's house, joining close
f. 49 v°. to the church,) | came forth to meet the corps, being accompanied with Mullmore O-Relly his son, then sheriff of the county, and some other gentlemen, and attended with a party of musquetteers and a drumm. The comming of this company, in this warlike manner, was thought at first to be intended to hinder and oppose the burial of the bishop's corps. But when they met the beare, it prov'd no such thing. For O-Relly and those with him applied themselves in most courteous and condoling language to the bishop's sons,

speaking respectfully and honourably of the dead, and comfortably to the living; and so, commanding their drum to beat, as the manner is when a souldier is buried, and placing the musquetteers before the corps, they thus conveighed the bishop to his grave. And being come thither, the sheriff told the bishop's sons that *they might use what prayers, or what form of burial, they pleased; none should interrupt them.* And when all was done, he commanded the musquetteers to give a volley of shot, and so the company departed.

160. To close up this narrative of the life and death of the bishop of Kilmore, and as it were to set his seal to it, let the reader take notice of the sculpture, or engraving of his seal; conteining in it as it were a prophetical synopsis of the whole course of his life. It was his own device, and engraven first by his own hand upon the haft of his knife, before he could foresee what lot God had laid out for him. The hint that he took for his conceit, as by the inscription may be gather'd, was out of the Scripture, Isay. i. 25: *And I will turn my hand upon thee, and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin.* The last sentence of this verse in the Hebrew goes thus: וְאָסִירָה כָּל־בְּדִילֶיךָ: ... In conformity to this Scripture with allusion to his own name *Bedell*, (or as 'twas anciently Bedyl,) the device was this: A crucible or fining-pot standing in flame, with this superscription: הָסֵר מִנִּי כָל־בְּדָלַי: ... *Purge from me all my tin:* turning what the Prophet sets down, as a promise to Sion, into a petition to the Lord for himself, to take away all his tin from him. After he was made a bishop, he caused this in a larger figure to be set upon his episcopal seal; possibly not thinking then, much less imagining in his younger years, | that God would have answered his petition so punctually, according to the literal sense, as by experience he after felt. But 'tis the Lord's usual manner in answering the prayers of his people, to do it in waies least imagined by them, but most tending to the advancement of His own glory and their spiritual advantage, as may be plainly observ'd in His dealings with this His faithfull servant. Blessed for ever be his holy name. Amen. f. 50 r°.

SPECULUM EPISCOPORUM;

OR

THE APOSTOLICK BISHOP:

BEING

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND DEATH

OF

THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

DR WILLIAM BEDELL,

LORD BISHOP OF KILMORE IN IRELAND.

SPECULUM EPISCOPORUM.

1. I INTEND (by the grace of God) to recollect my thoughts concerning that reverend father in God, Dr William Bedell, bishop of Kilmore in Ireland; not so much to revive my own memorial of him, (having his incomparable worth, both living and dead, in my heart still,) as to satisfy the importunity of some worthy persons that have desir'd of me a larger account than is yet given of him to the world by those that have mention'd somewhat of him long ago, but so far short of him as if they had said nothing at all of him. And allthough my acquaintance with him was late, in the rear of his life, yet my interest in him was very great from the year 1636 to the captivity of the land in 41. To the end therefore that so precious a jewel may not lie hid and smoother'd in the rubbish of oblivion, I shall endeavour to declare and make known what I have heard of him by those I have a good reason to believe; what I heard from himself, and what I observ'd myself in my abode with him all that space. MS. Tanner 278. f. 54 r°.

2. The great periods of his life were his education, his

3. lord bishop. 6. that have a great veneration for his name and a perfect value for everything that man of God was author of (whom I mention with honour and thankfulnes); and have often desyred. 11, 12. life and my interest in him very great from '36. 12, 13. *to the end therefore.* Om. 14. oblivion, whose sacred name is embalmed with precious oyntment of the best composition, I shall. 16. myself ob-

ministry in England, his attendance upon sir Henry Wotton in his embassy to Venice, his provostship over the college of Dublin, and his episcopacy at Kilmore in Ireland.

3. His birth and nativity was in the county of Essex, at a place called Black-Notley, of a good and honest family, where his son, Mr William Bedell, enjoyeth an inheritance (at this day) transmitted unto him by many progenitors. His education was in Emmanuel College in Cambridge under Dr Chaderton, where he profited above many his equalls; in philosophy, divinity, and practice of piety, he was esteemed *nulli secundus.* He was made the moderator and decider of all controversies, whether about fundamental or things [circumstantial and] ceremonial, as if he had been (as it was said of Whitaker before him) *magnum academiae oraculum, mundi miraculum,* while he was fellow there *primo in flore iuventae.*

f. 54 v°. 4. Thence he was called to be preacher at St Maries' in St Edmonds-Bury in Suffolk, where he continued many years with great applause. It was said of him there that *he did usually make the most obscure scriptures plain;* and of another preacher in that place, that *he made the plainest Scriptures obscure and hard to be understood:* there he married Leah (whose maiden name was L'Estrange), the widow of Mr Maw, sometimes recorder of St Edmunds-Bury, by whom he had three sons, William, John, and Ambrose, and one daughter called Grace: John and Grace died young; William and Ambrose are yet alive.

served. 1, 2. *his attendance... Venice.* his embassy as chaplen with Sir Henry Wotton in Venice. 3. *his* om. 4, 5. *in the county... Black-Notley.* at a place...Black-Notley in the county of Essex. anno 1570. 6. where (his elder brother dying without issue) his son. 6, 7. *enjoyeth ... day.* did enjoy a considerable inheritance. 8. academick education. 9. Chaderton the first head of that house and one of the first schollers. 9. *many.* all. 14, 15. *magnum...miraculum* (as it was said there of learned Whitaker before him). 15. *fellow.* student. 16. There. 16. *at.* in. 18. approbation and applause and blessed fruits of his ministery. 19. places of Scripture. 22. Leah, a person comely, virtuous and godly. 22, 23. Widow and relict of Robert Maw esquire. 25. Grace who with her brother John dyed young. 26. Ambrose were married and had children before their father's death. She bare four children to her former husband, Nicholas, Leah, Robert, and Edward who with his sister Leah came into Ireland.

5. I have heard that all persons and societies in whom he was concern'd did glory in him; as namely the suffragan of Colchester, when he was threatned to have his seal taken from him (he ordeined so many), he bragged thus: *I have ordeined abler men than ever the bishop did; for I ordeined Mr Bedell.* And when, at a general convention of the clergy, some things were propounded by the bishop that many worthy men did dislike, but none durst speak against; at length he stood up, and spake with such wisedom and moderation that they fell to the ground; for which confident attempt, when his brethren did extoll him to his face, he said no more, but what our Saviour said before him, *I desire not the praise of men.* This I receiv'd from one Mr Sowtheby, a holy man, that was his colleague in St Edmunds-Bury, and came afterward into Ireland to the B. of Kilmore; and was preferr'd by him to a living in the county of Letrim.

6. He had such a character of learning and prudence given him by the university of Cambridge, and by all that knew his inestimable worth, accompanied with humility and gravity, that he was chosen by K. James to go with the ambassador, sir Henry Wotton, into Venice, as chaplain in the time of the Venetian interdict, when that republick was excommunicated by the pope, Paulus 5tus. About the same time one Mr Wadsworth, a minister of the same college and diocese with D. Bedell, was sent into Spain to teach the

Anno 1605.

3. who, when. 3. seate. 5. have ordayned. 8, 9. speake, least they should have beene put out of the synagogue, at length he stands up in the midst of his brethren and spake. 10. that many thinges that were rigorously imposed and required did fall. 10. confident and discreet. 13. Samuel Sowtheby, a holy man of God. 14—16. Edmondsbury, and being driven out from his parsonage at Combes by bishop Wren, came to Ireland to the bishop of Kilmore; who, after he had hartily intertained him many months preferred him to...Letrim without ceremony or simony; and God was pleased to call that good man into England a little before the rebellion of Ireland, so that he saw not the evill that came upon us. 17. large character. 21. unto. 22. interdict anno 1604. 23. Paulus quintus for attacking and imprisoning two adulterous friars. And about. 24, 25. Wadsworth bred in the same colledge, chosen scholler at the same election, lodged in the same chamber, after a minister in the same

Infanta the English tongue, in order to her marriage with P. Charles. But he was cheated out of his religion by the Jesuites, and turn'd apostate; and there lived and died, and return'd no more to his native countrey.

f. 55 r°. 7. When Mr Bedell came to Venice, in the first place he learn'd (by the help of P. Paulo) the Italian tongue, and was suddenly as much master of it as if he had been an Italian born (as P. P. said to the lord ambassador), in so much that most of his sermons at Venice are written in the Italian tongue, or in Latin, wherein none did excell him since Erasmus brought in the purity of it. To requite P. P.'s assistance of him in acquiring the Italian tongue, at his request he wrote an English grammar for him and many others that desired to learn it for religion's sake.

8. He also translated the Common-Prayer-Book into Italian, which P. P. and the seaven divines (that preach'd against the pope by authority) liked so well, that they were resolv'd to have made it a pattern of their publick worship, if they had made a full retreat from the church of Rome: he helped and instructed the seven Venetian divines in the understanding of the Scriptures; whereof Fulgentio was chief, whose sermons against the pope I have seen, and they are yet extant printed in Italian; though, upon the pacification, they, and all such writings, were called in and anathematiz'd.

diocesse with D. Bedell and (that they might be alike in this also) both chaplains in forraine parts, was sent. 2. But he was so much *mutatus ab illo*, that he was cheated. 4. country; whereas Dr Bedel was like to have been the great instrument in the hand of God for the bringing of the Venetian state out of Romish-Popish-Babilon, by opening their eyes and turning them from darknes to light and from the poure of Sathan to God, as the ambassador sir Henry Wotton did still acknowledge, when he had any occasion administred unto him to speake of that his embassy: one passage of his letter to the late king is this: *For may it please...blessed memory* [above p. 5. l. 6—13; reading in l. 11 for *practiced* conversed with]. The letter itselfe I will set down in its place. How well he deserved this commendation did dayly appeare more and more in that transaction with the pope, some particulars whereof I learned by many. 5. *When...Venice* om. 9. in Venice were. 15. and he also. 19. Rome, as they were very like to do. 21. Fulgentius. 22. *they* om.

9. He had such respect from that state, that when P. P. was stabb'd with a stilletto (a loving token sent from his holy father the pope by an obedient son of his church) while he was writing the History of the Council of Trent, Dr B. had allwaies free ingress and regress to him and from him, without any suspicion or molestation.

10. I heard him say that there was not a word in all the Greek T. but P. P. had mark'd with his red lead thus [o], to shew that he had studied every word: I heard him also say, that when he had shewed the true reading and sense of that often-mistaken phrase by the anabaptists, Acts xix. 5, ἀκούσαντες δὲ (which they hearing), that they were a part of the continued speech of St Paul, and not at all the words of St Luke the historian, P. P. leap'd for joy for the discovery of that truth, which he never knew before.

11. At that time came Spalatensis to Venice, having fled for his life from Babylon; and having receiv'd D. B. (as P. P. did) into his very soul, he communicated unto him his writings *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, in ten books, which he publish'd in London. He corrected many things in his interpreting and applying of Scriptures, in his quotation of fathers and histories, at the motion of D. B.

12. At that time there came a Jesuite to Venice, called Thomas Maria Caraffa, and printed some theses of philosophy and divinity, and dedicated them with a blasphemous title thus: *PAV^{5}L^{50}O. V^{5}. VI^{5}C^{1}E^{100}. D^{500}EO, Christianae Reipublicae monarchae invictissimo, et pontificiae omnipotentiae conservatori acerrimo, &c.* Which, when D. B. had seen with amaze- f. 55 v°. Anno 1608.

1. from the Venetian state. 4. when he was. Trent, and the messinger disappointed in finishing his interprize, the state set a guard to secure him from after-blowes of that kind, from those assassinates that are skilfull to destroy. 5, 6. ingresse to him and regresse from him. 6. molestation. The stiletto is yet to be seen over his effigies in Venice. 8. [o] om. 13. *St* om. 14. historian (*verba illa non sunt Lucae de Paulo, sed Pauli de Iohanne et discipulis eius*) that P. Paulo. 16. Spalatensis the archbishop of Spalado to Venice, Marcus Antonius de Dominis. 19, 20. which afterwards... London and dedicated to king James. 20. in his writtings in his interpreting. 22, 23. Dr Bedell, *without whom*, he sayd, *he could do nothing*. About that time also there came. 26. [The small numerals

ment, he retir'd into his study, and by just calculation he found out the number of the beast (mention'd Apoc. xiii. 18) 666, to be contein'd exactly in the numerical letters of that proud swelling title, and shew'd it to the lord ambassador, to P. P., and the seven divines, who immediately laid hold upon it, as if it had been by divine revelation from heaven, and acquainted the prince and the senate with it. It was carried suddenly through the city that this was Antichrist, and that they needed not look for another: it was publish'd and preach'd through all their territories, and the Romanists were ashamed and confounded at it. But to salve up the matter, news was soon after divulg'd that Antichrist was born in Babylon, of the tribe of Dan, and was comming with a huge army to wast and destroy all opposers, &c. This is since mention'd by commentators upon that arithmetical mystery; but this was the original of it, as the lord ambassador told K. James and others. The same is set down at large by Mr B., in his book against the apostate Wadseworth, p. 79, but his modesty conceals the first finder and discoverer of it.

13. I did never hear him say that he was displeased with the lord ambassador but in this one thing; When the difference between the Venetians and the pope was grown to the height, and there seemed not to be above one step

over the capitals omitted here in H]. 1. seq. calculation found out that it contayned exactly in the numerall letters of that proud-swelling title the number of the beast 666 mentioned *Apoc.* xiii. 18; so that he that runs may read it in PA$\overset{5}{V}\overset{50}{L}$O $\overset{5}{V}$ $\overset{5}{V}\overset{1}{I}\overset{100}{C}\overset{500}{E}$DEO. He shewed. 5. and to. 11. confounded at it, with horror and consternation, that they had nothing to say against the calculation, and knew not what to doe, till they send forthwith (least this discovery should spread further) to their ghostly father concerning it, who never wants a fitt salve for such a sore; but causeth a proclamation to be made, and to be sent unto all his vassalls and tenants, the popish princes of Christendom, to let them know that Antichrist. 14. all opposers, and therefore they should arm themselves speedily, and make ready all their forces by sea and land to encounter him, &c. And thus was that acute and ingenious discovery husht. This is since. 17. King. 17, 18. set down more fully in his book. 18, 19. Wadsworth, but his. 21. I never heard.

between them and their utter rejection of popery for ever; when the prince, in his speech in the senate, had spoken much in the praise and commendation of K. James, and that *things were not so bad as men bare the world in hand, intending to set discord between Christian princes,* and something also in commendation of the English ambassador there present; and when the pope's nuntio had said, that *the K. was not a catholick, and not to be relied upon,* &c.; the prince immediately replied, that *the King of England did believe in Jesus Christ; but what others did believe he knew not,* &c. P. P. and the seven divines, with many others, sent for D. B., and entreated him to desire the lord ambassador to deliver the king's book immediately to the prince. And accordingly he did urge him and persuade him to do it by all f. 56 r. possible motives from reason and religion, (keeping himself within the bounds of moderation and modesty towards him whose servant he was, and referring himself still to his wisedom and better judgement). But when he had said all that he could, the lord ambassador's answer was no more but this: *That he was resolved not to deliver K. James's book but on St James his day that was approaching.* And ere that day came the state was reconciled to the pope: and then when on that fatal day the book was deliver'd, the answer was this: That *they thanked the king for his good will, but were now reconciled to the pope; and therefore were not to admitt of any change in their religion according to their articles with his holiness:* which sad answer had allmost broke the heart of D. B., P. P., and of all the seven divines, and of many others.

1. betweene their utter rejection of him and his popery for ever, and none ever forsooke him, that were more likely to doe it upon the most rationall and Christian-like termes; when the prince. 2. senate-house. 3. King James, &c. that. 9. that Rex de Angleterra, &c. did believe. 11. P. Paulo. 12. Dr Bedell. 13, 14. prince; which he did urge him and perswade him to doe by all. 16. modesty and moderation. 17. servant, most obsevant of his lord and master, he was. 18. *But* om. 20. the king's book. 25. resolved not. 26. articles of agreement. 27. holiness, &c. 28. Dr Bedell, Padre Paulo. 29. others, that were to entertaine the gospel of reformation, as ready as the Israelites to march away from Pharaoh. Thus he it was, so eminently instrumentall in God's hand, and

14. I never heard that he displeased the lord ambassador in any thing save this one. The ambassador had an ape that upon a time slipt his chain and got out and bit a child very sore. The Venetian mother brought the child into the ambassador's lodging with great fury and rage, which alarm'd his whole family. D. B., his chaplain, said: *His lordship was bound in conscience to make satisfaction; and that it was a slander to our religion to keep such harmfull beasts, and not repair the dammage;* who answer'd angrily, That *he wish'd he were as sure of the kingdom of heaven,* and that *he had as good conscience as another, &c.*

15. He spent much time not only with P. P., Spalatensis, and others (unto whom he expounded the way of God more perfectly than ever they knew before), but also with Rabbi Leo, the master of the Jewish synagogue at Venice, who taught him the Oriental pronuntiation of the Hebrew tongue. R. Leo said that *he had received more light in the letter and sense of the Hebrew text from D. B. than from all their rabbins:* and when in a solemne dispute with him about the Messias, D. B. had clearly proved that Christ was *materies Scripturarum, velatus in Veteri, revelatus in N. T.;* and that to Him give all the prophets witness; as he shew'd by induction, beginning at Moses, and reading all those scripture testimonies out of the Hebrew text clearly; he and the other rabbins had no more to say, but *Aliter credunt, et ubique terrarum docent rabbini nostri ex traditione patrum.*

f. 56 v°. 16. I heard him often mention this R. Leo in reading the original, saying, *My master R. Leo said thus.* This R. Leo helped him to the fairest manuscript that ever I did see of the O. T. It was written in a large folio of excellent parchment, in such large and clear characters with all the

laboured more abundantly (according to his station and subordination) than any in that mysterious transaction, was made sad, and found that saying of that wysest of all meer men to be true: that *great* men are not alwayes wyse. 2. one thing. 5. rage, insomuch that she. 6. Dr Bedell. 9. repay. 12. P. Paulo, Diodati. 17. of whom R. Leo sayd. 18 and 20. Dr Bedell. 23. the scripture. 24. cleerly, and answering all objections. 28. original and say *My.* 29. Rabbi. 30. see of the record of. 31. large, clear and excellent.

points, and some Rabbinical notes upon the large margin, and of so great antiquity, that no print could be compared unto it. This large volume cost so many livers an ounce, and is now in Immanuel college in Cambridge; well worth the seeing as any monument in that library.

17. When D. B. return'd into England with the ambassador, P. P. was as loath to part with him as with his own soul. He gave D. B. his picture, an Hebrew Bible without pricks, and a small pocket Hebrew Psalter, wherein he wrote some expressions of love subscribed with his hand. He gave him the Italian copy of the Council of Trent, the History of the Interdict, and of the Inquisition, with many other tokens of love. Spalatensis came over with him, and one Dr Despotine, one of his Italian converts, whom he brought with him to St Edmunds-Bury. He was a famous physitian, and became very rich in that place; between whom and D. B. there was a continual entercourse of Italian letters to their last; and so between him and D. Hall, D. Ward, and D. Downham.

18. At his return to his flock in St Edmunds-Bury, after so long absence beyond sea, he was receiv'd with won-

1. notes on the. 4. in the library of. 5. the seeing. When after all this stirr the Venetians were returned to their vomit again (though they made a decree that the Jesuits, whom they had driven out, should never be readmitted, unless three parts of four of the senate should be consenting to it) yet they never desyred the Pope's absolution from their excommunication to this day, only the cardinall nuntio, upon the day of reconciliation, gott into the senate-house before the prince came, and made an aerial cross with his finger over or upon the prince's cushion, and that was sufficient to save his master's credit, and to serve instead of a sollemne ceremoniall absolution, as their popish maner is. The state observed none, but did forbid all maner of showes of joy and gratulation upon the pacification. They are worthy of all slavery, that will return to that estate, when they choose. 6. Dr Bedell. 7. P. Paolo. 8. soule, and would have come into England, with many others that were loath to returne to their Egiptian darknes and bondage; but the stato would not part with him upon any termes, he being esteemed the right eye and lively oracle of that state till his death. He gave Dr Bedell. 10. heart and hand. 12. other love-tokens and pieces of antiquity. 15. Edmunsbury, and was. 16. whom and him there. 18—20. last, whereof I have seen many. At his. 21. sea, being about eight

derfull expressions of joy by all sorts of people. There he finished his translation of the Venetian Interdict out of Italian into excellent Latin, together with the History of the Inquisition, and dedicated them both to the K., which he was much satisfied with; the l. ambas., sir H. W., seconding the dedication with his highest commendation of the translator. He translated the two last books of the Council of Trent, (the two first being done by sir Adam Newton). Of which I heard him say, that when Spalatensis had it presented unto him, and had compared the first five or six lines of the Italian with the Latin, he said these words, *Non est idem;* the first words of the Italian being, *I will write the Council of Trent,* &c. He said, that *the translator had followed too much the Latin phrase, and had often left the true sense of the Italian behind him; but so did not D. B., who excelled in both languages.*

f. 57 r°. 19. I heard him say, that *Spalatensis was coz'ned out of England, and out of religion, and at last out of his life, by Gundamor, the greatest Matchevilian of his time.* My L^d^. of

yeares in Italy. 1. people, as an angel of God. 3. the Italian. 4. to king James. 5. with; Sir Henry Wotton, the ambassador. 7. translated also. Trent into Latin. 14. true idiom of the Italian. 15. Dr Bedell. excelled even to a miracle. 19. tyme, that perswaded him to returne to Rome, the pope being his old acquaintance and schoolefellow, and that a cardinall's cap was ready for him. This proud, ambitious man, though he had an honorable reception heere and maintenance for a prince at the Savoy and rich presents given him by the nobility and clergy, yet stole away, after he had given so great testimony to the truth by his preaching and large writtings against popery, that he might goe and returne to his owne place, having beene about eighteene monthes in England; though it is reported and beleeved by many to this day, that he sayd to Dr H[all] at his departure; *testor Deum immortalem, me invitum ex Anglia discedere.* The pope having civilly received him at his first approach, he met with Bellarmine, that had written against him; to whom he said: *Sir, yow have not answered my arguments;* who immediately went in and told the pope, that *Spalatensis was of the same mynde still, that he was of in England.* He being called said for his defence, that *he had said indeede, that cardinal Bellarmine had not answered his arguments, yet they were not unanswerable; but if his holiness would allow him tyme, he would answer them himselfe.* But this excuse and shift did not serve turne; he is cast into the inquisition, and insteed of bringing him to tryall for heresy, he is poy-

K. did much bemoan him; many Italian letters passing still between them in matters of religion. About this time Mr Wadsworth, the apostate (whom I mention'd before), having got his belly full of Spanish popery, begins to write to D. B. and D. Hall in matters of religion, and to justify his exchange. D. B. answers and refutes all that he could say so solidly and convincingly, in so pacifick and Christian a style, that I have reason to believe it prevail'd with him to his recovery. For after many years his son (the author of the tract called the *English-Spanish-Pilgrim*) came from Spain into Ireland to my lord of Kilmore his house, and told him that his father thank'd him for his book, and that he delighted much in it, and that it was ever before him; and that he heard him say these words, *I will save one.* I know not any thing that ever was written against popery that will yield more satisfaction to a rational reader; I wish it were reprinted in these times, there being above 50 years run out since the first printing of it, and very few of them to be found.

20. After this he was presented to a parsonage called Horningshearth in Suffolk, near St Ed. Bury, by sir Tho. Anno 1615.

sond and his body cast out at a window and all his goods confiscat to the pope; for he had brought great store of wealth with him out of England *anno* 1623. My lord of Kilmore did much bemoane. 3. apostate chaplen. 4. began to write to Dr Bedell and Dr Hall. 5. exchange and revolt. 6. Dr Bedell. 8. his finall recovery (and dedicates it to prince Charles, anno 1624). 9. *the author...Pilgrim* om. 11. Kilmore's house. 14. *one.* This young man wrote the tract called the *English-Spanish Pilgrim*, which is to be seene in many places, in which is an account of the education of the present bishop of H—. 16. more true. reader, then those letters that Dr Bedell sent into Spayne; the effect of which was well knowne in Ireland to the conversion of many Irish and English papists. 16. wish they were. 18. printing of them. 19. found. Dr Bedel having continued preacher at St Edmondsbury till the year 1615, he was presented. 21. Thomas Jermin of Ryshbrooke in that county, a great courtyer and privy councillour, and vicechamberlane to king Charles the first, whose father, Robert Jermin *miles*, was a person of singular piety, a bountifull benefactor to Immanuel college, and a man of great command in his countrey, as Dr Fuller writes of him in his history of *The Worthies of England;* his son Sir Thomas was a lover of the best of men, and did

Jermin, a great courtier; who did glory much in this, that he had preferr'd the most famous and eminent divine in all their coasts to his benefice. I cannot pass by that passage, that when the bishop offer'd him his instruments of institution and induction and demanded large fees, he refus'd to receive his titles upon that account; but only to pay the secretary for the writing, the wax and parchment, what was fit. The bishop asked *why he did refuse to pay what was demanded, which others did pay?* He said *it was simony, and contrary to Christ's and the Apostle's rule, Gratis accepistis, gratis date.* And being again asked *what was simony?* he answered, *it was Vendere spiritualia temporalibus;* and so he went away without his titles to his benefice; but within a few daies the bishop sent him his titles *gratis.* This I had partly from himself, and partly from Mr Sowtheby.

glory. 2. preferred to his benefice. 3 *to his benefice* om. 3. remarkable passage. 13. new benefice. 14. *gratis.* It may be he had acquainted his patron with it; who said, *he would let the king know it, that knew Dr Bedell so well.* 15. Sowtheby, that worthy person of whom mention is made p. 81. A man would have thought, that he being imployed in forraign negotiations, in matters of state of greatest concernment, and being so great an ornament to the protestant religion by his wonderfull learning and examplary living, and so eminently instrumentall in the almost-conversion of the Venetian state, that had dedicated so many bookes to the king, after so many yeares peregrination might have cast anker in the port of preferment at his very first arrivall (there being none since the apostles' days more richly endowed with all gifts and graces in the judgement of all that knew him), if true learning and worth had beene in any deserved esteeme; but he, like a faythfull shepherd that longed to know the state of his flock (though many epistles had passed between them) retyres to his private charge; and, like the triumphant husbandman in the Roman history, that after his victory over the Samnites layd downe his dictatorship and returned to his husbandry, so he to the plough of the gospel in the field where he had left it, until the yeir 1615 that he entered upon his small benefice of Horningshearth, where he continued till the yeir 1627. But I remember to have beene told one particular circumstance of Dr Bedell by a person of honour, who was well acquainted with Diodati, which was this; that about *anno* 1627 Deodati was at London, and having enquired with much diligence for Dr Bedell in all the bishops' company that he lighted on, wondred extreamly he could meet with none among the clergy that knew him or ever heard of his name; so that he despaired of ever coming to the knowledge of him heere.

21. His former patron in Venice, sir H. W., followed him with wonderfull respects as long as he lived in prosperity; and in his adversity D. B. was much afflicted for him, and not unmindfull of him when his potent friends forgot him, to let such an able statesman die in prison, having superexpended himself for the publick, as many publique ministers of state often do to their ruine. His later patron, S. T. J., did so highly own him and reverence him, as if he had been his father, and heard him gladly and did many things for the good of himself and family at his word; for in all matters of state he stuck to him, and in trouble he vindicated him, and kept correspondence with him all his daies in Ireland; and when he least desired or expected it, he sent him a patent from the king for two bishopricks, as hereafter you shall read. f. 57 v°.

22. One would have thought that a person so eminent for many years in Italy, whose learning, piety and behaviour, had contributed much to the reputation of the protestant religion, the honour of the king, and credit of the ambassador, that had dedicated so many learned pieces to the K. after many years absence and peregrination in a negotiation of state concernment, he that did shine in Italy as a candle set on a candlestick, should not have been clap't under a bushell in England, and permitted to return onely to his private ministery in St Edmunds-Bury. But his unparallell'd humility and self-denying temper of spirit minded not high things, for which none in his majesties dominions was es-

And this encreased his wonder, that he should have the good luck to be so well knowne and esteemed abroad, and admitted into the bosom acquaintance of the Phoenix of his age, I meane Padre Paulo, and yet have the misfortune to be so little noticed and without honour in his owne countrey. At last, when he least thought of him, he met with him by chance in Cheapside, and embraced him with all the joyfull affection imaginable, untill they both shed many teares; after which interview Deodati carryed him to the bishop of Durham, Dr Morton, and gave that learned bishop such a character of Dr Bedell, that he presently tooke particular care to have him provided for. 3. Dr Bedell. 5. die as it were. 7. latter patron Sir Thomas Jermin. 11. in all trouble. 16. [Chapters 22 and 23 are inserted more at longth in H before ch. 21; see pp. 90–1 *n.*].

teemed better qualified (as the lord ambassador expresses in his lettre to the king). But as the triumphalis agricola, in the Roman history, laid down his dictatorship when he had done his business for which he was chosen, so he returns to the plough of the Gospel in the field where he left it.

23. But I remember to have been told one particular and remarkable circumstance of him by a person of honour, who was well acquainted with Diodati, which was this. About the year 1627 Diodati was at London; and having enquir'd with much diligence for Dr Bedell in all the bishops' company that he lighted on, he wondred extreamly he could meet with none among the clergy that knew, or ever heard of his name; so that he despair'd of ever comming to the knowledge of him here. And this encreased his wonder, that he should have the good luck to be so well known and esteem'd abroad, admitted unto the bosom acquaintance of that Phenix of his age, I mean Padre Paulo; and yet have the misfortune to be so little noticed at home, in his own countrey. At last, when he least thought of him, he met with him by chance in Cheapside, and embraced him with all the joyfull affection imaginable, until they both shed many tears: after which interview Diodati carried him to the bishop of Duresm, Dr Morton, and gave that learned bishop such a character of Dr Bedell, that he presently took particular care to have him provided for.

f. 58 r°. 24. Having lived as it were *incognito* in Suffolk from the year 1612, after his return from Italy, until the year 1627 (as Moses did in Midian, or Elijah at Zarepta), he was (through the fame of his worth and writings) solemnly invited to the provostship over the seminary of learning that is in Dublin, after the death of sir Wm. Temple. He was chosen by all the fellows (who had never seen him); written to by famous D. Usher, primate of all Ireland, that had heard great things of him; and requir'd by the king to accept the calling, being esteemed by all persons to be quali-

Anno 1627.

26—29. *having lived...Zarepta* om. After this meeting with Deodati he was not long resident upon his benefice in Suffolk, when through the fame of his worth and writtings he was sollemnely. 31. in Trinity college in. 32. fellows that had. 33. Doctor Usher.

fied for such an employment. See sir H. Wotton's letter to the king upon this occasion, printed in sir H. Wotton's works, and in his Life, and in Dr Bernard's character of bishop Bedell. A. 1659.

25. Now having so clear a call from God and the king and all persons concern'd, he left his native soil and accepted of the provostship of the college of Dublin; to the great joy of heart of all good men there, and the exceeding great profit of all the students, above all that were before him: for he reform'd many abuses, setled many excellent orders; he reduced the scatter'd statutes into a method, and the scholars into a godly discipline of true learning and Christianity mingled together, by his catechizing in the college, and preaching every week once in Christ Church, which he was not bound unto by his place nor any other obligation. The Church-Catechism he divided into 52 parts, according to the number of the weeks of the year, and did explain one part each Lord's day in the afternoon; of which explication many copies were taken by the scholars and others in Dublin, which I wish heartily might yet be search'd after and publish'd; for I am sure it would help all orders of men in their understanding of the principles of Christianity above all books that are written of that subject.

1. employment. And for the better information of all such as have pleasure in reading the just commendation of worthy persons for the imitation of those that succeede them, that they may studdy more to be like them in their parts, then hunt after their places of preferment, which many do that have little worth in them, I will heere set downe the coppy of Sir H. Wotton's letter to the king in the behalfe of Dr Bedell, when he was desyred by the archbishop of Ardmagh to accept of the provostship of Dublin Colledge in Ireland; which letter hath been often printed, and is to be found in the *Lyfe of Sir H. Wotton* published by Isak Walton, and in the character of bishop Bedell written by Dr Bernard, by Dr P. Heyling, Loyd and others: [then follows the letter as printed above pp. 4, 5, with the following variations: p. 4, l. 27. your most gracious. 31. petition unto. 33. of Dublin. 35. render unto. said Mr. 37. *first* om. 38, 39. *be pleased to* om. 39. accept of. P. 5. l. 1, 2. propounded to. 6. For may it please. 11. any that. 12. *late* om. 15. labours which]. 7. Dublin (Aug. 1627). 9. before him, or came after him. 15. outward obligation. 17. number of the sabbaths of the yeir. 18. each Sabbath-day. 20. searcht for and. 22. first principles. 23. subject, only a private

26. He was not long provost and president over the school of the prophets sons in Dublin, but he was advanced
Anno 1629. to the episcopal dignity; and none was esteemed a greater ornament of that function by all that knew him, since the apostles' daies; and he might well have been chosen for the Christian patriarch of any nation under heaven. His honorable patron in England, sir Tho. Jermin, pursued him with all respects he could heap upon him, and sent him from the king (of his own procurement) a patent for the bishoprick of Kilmore in the county of Cavan, and for the bishoprick of Ardagh in the county of Longford, both in the province of Ulster. And of this last station of his life I can give some larger account than of any of the former, (of which I was not an eye, but an ear-witness only).

f. 58 v°. 27. And though it be (*rara avis in terris*) a very rare thing to find a man that lives soberly, righteously, and godly, yet it is far rarer to find such a one without adversaries, especially if he stands before God in any eminency, as Daniel did; the ground of whose preferment was, because an excellent spirit was in him; and the ground of the malice of his malignant enemies against him, because he was faithfull, neither was any error or fault found in him. B. B. was all his life a follower of that which was good in the sight of God and good men; and the greatest harm he susteined and enmity he underwent, was from those of his own house, I mean of his own order: amongst whom he did shine as a star of the first magnitude, till he did sett under that dark cloud of the captivity of the land. He found in this his new calling such a multiplicity of business, as it were besieging him and conspiring together against him on every side, as might have discouraged many mortals: but in the strength

catechisme of Dr Usher's being there used before him. 3. dignity, *anno* 1629; and none ever esteemed. 4. ornament to that sacred function. 5. *he* om. 7. Jermin, mentioned p. 89. 12. this his last station in this life. 13. then of any the former (which I was not an eye, but an eare witnes of) till his finall remoove out of pilgrimage of this troublesome world into his everlasting rest. 17. without troubles and adversaries, that stands. 22. in him, but was. 24. men. The greatest. 30. side, that might.

of the Lord God he went chearfully through them all, and the Lord delivered him out of them all.

28. Sir Tho. Wentworth entring l. deputy, anno 1633, by sinister information was stirr'd up against this good man, ere ever he landed in Ireland. The occasion was this: there was a report that my lord of Kilmore had put his hand to a petition of great concernment; but the spirit of the lord deputy did so disrellish and dislike it, that whatsoever writing, commission or order came before him, wherein he saw the name of the bishop of Kilmore, he immediately dash'd it out with his pen, whatsoever concern it was of. So that the bishop being informed hereof, and conceiving that he was mightily incensed against him, came not up to Dublin (as the other prelates did) to do his homage unto him, and congratulate his safe and happy arrival, and honourable entrance upon the magistracy over them; but wrote immediately to sir T. J. his loving patron, and other potent friends, and sent them the petition itself, with this account of the new lord deputies wrath that was kindled against him. Whereupon letters were sent from England in all hast to the lord deputy, whereby he receiv'd such satisfying information concerning the B. of K., that when he came to present himself before him, he arose from all his nobles, and ran to embrace him with such reverent respects that all present did admire it, and invited him to dine with him that day, and many times after, and gave him access and audience ever after, and continued all respects unto him (above many of his order) till he was called away by the parliament of England, f. 5; r°.

3. [In H ch. 28 and 29 follow ch. 32]. And all these holy and honorable designs commence at the same time of his entrance, and continue during his incumbency in his episcopacy, of which I shall give yow a particular account, after I have inserted one remarkable passage concerning him, which is as followeth: Sir Thomas Wentworth. 4. was stirred up by sinister information. 5. this: my lord of Kilmore, with some others, was reported to have put. 7. of some publick concernment. 8. deputy (and of those times). 8. dislike the report of it, whether true or false. 9. he found the name. 10. immediately with great indignation. 11. it were of. 13. was unjustly incensed. 16. them, &c. 17. Sir Thomas Jermin. 19. so hotly kindled. 22. bishop of Kilmore. 23. he rose. 26. after to his table. ever afterwards. 28. untill.

anno 1640. Thus, in the first place, the Lord that hath all men's hearts in his hand, turned the heart of the L. D. towards him, when most men expected either imprisonment (which the D. was not esteemed sparing of upon small provocation) or loss of his bishoprick.

29. His letter to the L. Deputy upon this occasion (viz. about the mainteinance of the army and the Cavan-Petition) which he sent enclosed in another letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, Dec. 4, 1633, and is printed by Mr Prin, p. 433, is as followeth.

Right honorable my good Lord, &c.

In the midst of these thoughts I have been advertiz'd from an honorable friend in England that I am accused to his majestie to have oppos'd his service, and that my hand, with two other bishops only, was to a writing touching the money to be levied on the papists here for the mainteinance of the men of war, &c. Indeed, if I should have had such an intention, this had been not only to oppose the service of his majestie, but to expose, with the publick peace, mine own neck to the skeanes of the Romish cut-throats; I that know that in this kingdom of his majestie the pope hath another kingdom far greater in number; and, as I have heretofore signified to the lords justices and council (which is also since justified by themselves in print), constantly guided and directed by the order of the new congregation De propaganda fide, *lately erected at Rome, transmitted by means of the pope's nuntios residing at Bruxells, or Paris, that the pope hath*

2 and 4. lord deputy. 4. provocations. 6—10. *His letter...followeth* om. And because this matter was talked of farr and neir, I will set down his letter, which he wrote to the lord deputy of Ireland in vindication of himselfe about the mayntenance of the Irish army, and the Cavan petition, which he sent inclosed in another letter to the archbishop of Canterbury; which also I coppied out of Mr Prinne's booke, who finding it among my lord of Canterburye's papers, thought it worthy to be published, as being more full and observable in some memorable passages concerning the increase and insolencyes of the papists in Ireland. Right hon^ble^. 11. [This is only a fragment of the letter, the whole of which will be found in its

here a clergy, if I may guess by my own diocese, double in number to us; the heads whereof are by corporal oath bound to him to maintein him and his regalities contra omnem hominem, *and to execute his mandats to the uttermost of their forces; which accordingly they do, stiling themselves in print,* Ego, N. Dei et apostolicae sedis gratia episcopus Fermien. et Ossorien. &c. *I that know there is in this kingdom for the moulding of the people to the pope's obedience a rabble of irregular regulars, commonly younger brothers of good houses, who are grown to that insolency as to advance themselves to be members of the ecclesiastical hierarchie in better rank than priests, insomuch that the censure of the Serbon is fain to be implored to curb them, which yet is called in again, so tender is the pope of his own creatures: I that know that his holiness hath erected a new* f. 59 v°. *university in Dublin to confront his majesties college there, and to breed up the youth of the kingdom to his devotion; of which university one Paul Harris, the author of that infamous libel, which was put forth in print against my lord Armagh's Wansted sermon, stileth himself in print to be dean; I that know, and have given advertisement to the state, that these regulars dare erect new fryaries in the countrey, since the dissolving of those in the city; that they have brought the people to such a sottish senselesness as they care not to learn the commandments, as God himself spake and writ them; but they flock in great numbers to the preaching of new, superstitious and detestable doctrines, such as their own priests are asham'd of; and at these they levy collections, 3, 4, 5, or 6 pounds at a sermon. Shortly, I that know that these regulars and this clergy have, at a general meeting like to a synod, as themselves style it, holden at Droghedah, decreed that it is not lawfull to take an oath of allegiance, and if they be constant to their own doctrine, do account his majestie in their hearts to be king but at the pope's discretion; in this estate of this kingdom to think the*

place in the correspondence]. 10. good families. 21. *and* om. 28. at all.

bridle of the army may be taken away, it should be thought, not of a brainsick, but brainless man, &c.

Your Lordship's in all duty,

WILLIAM KILMORE.

The day of our deliverance from the popish powder-plot.

What greater discovery of our unavoidable calamity could have been made than this holy man of God offers to our watchmen? whose *words ought more to be heard in quiet than the cry of him that ruleth among fools*, as Ecclesiastes speaks.

30. When my L. of K. was come into his diocese, he found such dilapidations upon dilapidations, such disorders in his clergy, courts and people of all sorts, as if he had come thither immediately after the rebellion of the E. of Tyrone and E. of Tireconell, assisted by Don John de Aquila; which Q. Elizabeth of blessed memory put an end to by the lord Mountjoy, *anno* 1600.

31. For the former bishop, Mr Moigne, had set up such a shop of nundination and merchandizing, as if all things spiritual and temporal belonging to episcopacy had been ordinary vendible commodities, as in the church of Rome. For he understood these words of St Paul (as once one is said to have read them), *Qui desiderat episcopatum bonum, opes desiderat.* For he made havock of all; as Capon (the predecessor of precious Jewel) is recorded to have done, who devoured all; as Varus, who is said to have entred poor into the rich province of Syria, but to have left it poor, himself being enriched by it. This bishop

f. 60r°.

5. *our* om. powder-plot an. 1633. Heere you see his cleir vindication from that aspersion of reducing the army of defence, and the delineation of those insufferable proceedings of the papists in any Christian republick; all which were signally preparatory to that swift destruction that came upon us, which this man of God, like another Elijah, did cleirly see and forsee; but few laid it to hart as he did. 6—10. *What greater...speaks* om. 11. When he was come into his diocesses. 12. disorder. 14 and 15. Earl. 15. d'Aquila. 16. Queen. put to an end. 18. *Mr* om. 19. merchandize.

Moigne had leased out to my lord Lambert and sir Hugh Cullum allmost all the Termon lands (so all land is called in Ireland that a bishop by the law of that land may let or set for lives, or a certein number of years) and also the mensal-lands (so called because they may not be set or let but during the bishop's life only), and had taken great fines, and very inconsiderable rents reserved for the mainteinance of his successor. He had sold some perpetual advosons, which ought not to have been done; and upon the ruins of these two bishopricks had founded his family. For being a man of no understanding, and all his learning being confin'd to the Com. P. book, he must needs, like a good merchant, make sale of those commodities that he had bought at a considerable rate. Orders and livings were sold to those that could pay the greatest fines, &c. Therefore my L. of K. commenced a suit against his son Roger Moigne (that was afterwards killed by the rebells near Droghedah) and his widow, and so recovered somwhat of the spoil.

32. I find a letter of his in Mr Prinn's History of the late archbishop of Canterbury, p. 436, that makes a full discovery of the estate of both the dioceses when he entred upon them. The letter is thus endorsed by the archbishop, to whom it was sent, April 1, 1630, *From Dr Bedell L.*

2. Termon land. 6. incumbency or life. 10. stript bishopricks. 12. common Prayer. 14. *were* om. 16. lord of Kilmore. 16—18. against his widow Mistrise Moigne and his son Roger Moigne, and so recovered somewhat of the spoyle. This Roger Moigne was afterwards killed by the rebells near Drohida, with six hundred men that were sent from Dublin to releeve it, when it was close besiedged by the Ulster rebells; the unhappy word of command (to countermarch) given unseasonably to new-levied and undisciplined men, in the view of their enemies, which put them into sad disorder; which the vigilant enemy espying, fell in amongst them and put them all to the sword; only Sir Patrick Weems, that commanded my lord of Ormond's troope, escaped with the horse to Drohida. That yow may the better understand the state in which he found these two bishopricks, I will set downe his owne letter to the bishop of Canterbury, which is published by Mr Prinne in his history of the late archbishop of Canterbury, out of which I coppied it. It is thus endorsed by the archbishop: April. 20—23. *I find...The letter* om. [H. gives the letter, which will be

bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, about the state of the church in his diocese, and the papists in Ireland. This letter shews what great need there was of a reformation in these dioceses, as in all the rest of the kingdom; and what sad presages the insolencies of the Romish party were of the approaching rebellion, if men had had eyes to see or ears to hear.

found in the correspondence]. 2—4. shewes in what a woefull condition this good shepheard found his new flock and charge, and what great need there was of a generall reformation of the whole kingdome, that was in the same case with his diocesses; and what sad. 6. heare. Not only had his predicessor embezled the revenewes of these two impoverished bishopricks, and left them as yow see wretched and miserable, but after his death two violent and unjust men seize upon some lands appertaining to them, and forcibly keep possession: against whom my lord of Kilmore makes his complaint to the state in this petition following:

To the right hon^ble^ Henry lord viscount Falkland, lord deputy of this kingdom of Ireland, and the rest of his majesty's high councell of the same:

The humble petition of William Bedell, designed bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh,

Humbly shewing,

That whereas his majesty hath been gratiously pleased to constitute and appoint your petitioner to be bishop of the said sees, and to grant unto him the investiture and restitution of the temporalities of the same in as large and ample manner as the late bishop, or any other bishop of the said sees, have or might lawfully have enjoyed the same: and whereas sir Edward Bagshaw, knight, since the death of the late bishop, in the vacancy of the said sees hath entred upon two poales of land called Agarosikilly, parcell of the Termon of the see of Kilmore, whereof your petitioner's predicessor dyed seized; and sir Francis Hamilton, knight, hath likewise entred upon one gallon of land called Annagh, parcell of the mensall lands of the said see of Kilmore, which by order from this hon^ble^ board was sundry yeares since restored to the possession of your petitioner's said predicessor, and so quietly enjoyed, and whereof he dyed seised and possessed: and for that his majesty hath beene graciously pleased to appoint that your petitioner should be relieved at this hon^ble^ board against any unlawful act done by any person or persons to the empayring of the fruits and profitts of the said bishopricks,

Your petitioner humbly prayeth that he may be restored to the possession of the said lands enjoyed by his predicessor, and kept in the same, till the said sir Edward Bagshaw and sir Francis Hamilton

Hereupon he resolves upon a reformation of his clergy, of his courts ecclesiastical, and of all that people and flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, and specially of the Irish, in comparison of whom the English, Welsh and Scots, were few in number.

33. And first he begins with the reformation of his clergy; most of them he finds pluralists or non-residents; many tot-quots, and resident upon none; some ministers that had not one Protestant in their whole parish; and such as had married Irish women, their wives and children went to mass. For the removal of such sad abuses he assembles f. 60 v°. his clergy together at Cavan, and after sermon (wherein out of the Scriptures and antiquity he set before them with great evidence and demonstration of God's Spirit the institution, nature, work and end of the ministery of the gospel) he propounds unto them, as a father to his children, or as a brother to his brethren (allwaies styling them *fratres* and *compresbyteri*, when he spoke in Latin) the necessity of the reformation of these intolerable abuses, tending to the scandal of the reformed religion amongst the natives, and destruction of themselves as well as their flocks. Which speech of his being accompanied with so much piety, moderation and gravity, as if he had had no civil preheminence over them, receiv'd as universal a resentment or applause with submission, as Ezra found when he went about the reformation of marriage, to cause every one that had taken strange wives to put them away; when all the congregation answered and said with a loud voice, *As thou hast said, so must we do.*

shall shew reason to the contrary to this board, and he shall alwayes pray for your honours happines and prosperity.

1. Finding therefore such confusion and desolation, he like a faythfull trustee and overseer of God's flock, resolves upon a through reformation. 2—4. people and flock committed to his charge, and specially. 6. But in the meanewhile he goes about his worke, which is indeede the work of God, that he was called to and set up for; and first. 8. residence. 11. mass, and their servants, if they were Irish. 15. gospel, &c. 18. of reformation. 23—25. over them, left such impressions upon their spirits, that it receiv'd an universall resentment and applause, with submission to all that was propounded, as Ezra. 28. *do*, namely, to cleave to one benefice and resign the

34. And that he might be exemplary in this just motion (precepts or exhortations without example signifying little), he desires of them no more than he intends to do himself. For having two bishopricks or benefices (which for the smallness of them had been still united before, as they be now again in the hand of Dr Maxwell, the present bishop of Kilmore), he resolves to part with the one, and to cleave to the other. In order to the solemn accomplishment of this noble and self-denying resolution, he sends immediately for a worthy, learned man, of good report, Dr Richardson, dean of Derry (who married sir Hugh Bromley of Bromley's daughter in Warrell of Cheshire), and without bartering, trucking, merchandizing, or any other simoniacal compact whatsoever, resigned the bishoprick of Ardagh unto him gratis, under his hand and seal for ever, before many eminent witnesses; and that not out of a vain-glorious and pharisaical ostentation, or affectation of popular applause to be seen of men (*nulla famae vel popularis aurae affectatione hypocritica*), but as a pious declaration of the sincerity and upright intention of his heart in the sight of God and good men. And tho' there be many parsonages in England better than both these robbed and peeled bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh in Ireland, and tho' also he was at no small charge with his adversaries in rescuing and recovering some part of the rights of each alike, yet he
f. 61 r°. rejoiced with much inward tranquillity of mind and content after he had divested and eased himself of the burthen of pluralities. This bishoprick of Ardagh Dr Richardson did peaceably enjoy till the rebellion, that overturned all.

35. Being led by so fair a precedent, those ministers that had two or more benefices than one were confined to

other. 2, 3. exhortations signifying little without good example. 3. than what. 4. himself; that what they see him do, that is their spiritual leader, they also may do likewyse with greater alacrity. Therefore he begins with himself, and having. 4—7. *which...Kilmore* om. 7. *the* om. 10. worthy and. 11. Dr John. 11, 12. married the daughter of sir Hugh Bromley of Bromley in. 18, 19. *nulla... hypocritica* om. 23. although. 24. adversaryes and despoylers. 25. alike; and though these were never separate before nor since, but are

which they pleased to choose, and all enjoin'd to personal and perpetual residence upon their benefices for time to come. And this could not be well accomplished on a sudden. For in the plantation of Ulster, after K. James's coming to the crown (Tyrone's rebellion being quite hush'd), the king was pleased to allow and give order for large parcells of ground to be annexed to each church for gleabland; which were so ill laid out and assigned by the surveyors and commissioners appointed thereunto (so contrary to the royal intention of the K.), whereof sir Wm. Parsons was chief, that scarce one minister of ten had a foot of gleabland in his own parish, and in other parishes it lay not together, but scatter'd up and down in parcells. The county-town of Cavan had lands in two parishes many miles distant from the church, but none within the parish. And by the king's patent under the broad seal (which the ministers of each bishoprick had distinct for themselves in particular) the incumbent of each parish was requir'd and strictly enjoin'd to build a house for his personal residence upon the premises, 40 foot long and 30 foot high, within such a compass of time. Now this consideration brought all the ministers into such a streight that they could not tell what to do; for they were brought into this dilemma, that if they built upon their gleabs so far distant from their churches, they could never be resident; and if

now both in the hand of D. Marsh, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, as himselfe told me; yet. 2. several benefices. 3. come. Dr Bernard, being then deane of Kilmore, is neyther willing to be resident, nor to part with any of his benefices, and therefore exchangeth his deanry of Kilmore with Dr Henry Jones for his deanry of Ardagh; who was eldest sonne to the bishop of Kilalu, and marryed sir Hugh Cullum's daughter; and his younger brother Michael (that afterwards in the warrs was col. Jones) marryed the mother. He was deane of Kilmore till the rebellion, and after bishop of Clocher. Dr Bernard, deane of Ardagh, being then the primate's chaplen, took up his residence in Drohida till all was lost. And because this. 4. king James his. 10. king. 13. together neyther. in severall small parcells. 15. parish church. 19. obleiged and strictly. a mansion house. 21. time, that was limited in the grant. 23. say or do. 25. from the parish church.

they resolved upon residency according to their bishop's exhortation and injunction, it were folly to build at such a distance.

36. To extricate the clergy out of this intricacy and snare my lord propounds this expedient. He had some lands lying round about most parish-churches and next unto them throughout the whole diocese. He offers to accept these several parcells of gleab-lands assigned to each church in liew and exchange of his own lands, that lay so conveniently for each parish-church. To the effecting hereof he procures a commission from the E. of Strafford, the L. D., and council, to see this pious proposal and exchange brought to pass, that the bishoprick might have no dammage, nor the present leassees any just reason to complain. The commissioners met about it, whereof Dr Bramhall, bishop of
f. 61 v°. Derry, was one; whom I and all then present at Mr Arthur Cullum's house heard say these words; viz. that *he told sir Wm. Parsons, that if all the jesuites of the church of Rome had conspir'd together to hinder the propagation of the Gospel, they could not have contriv'd it more effectually than he had done in these so inconvenient assignements.* However the matter was brought very near a period by the agreement of all persons concerned in the behalf of the clergy and of the bishop (whose highest concern was the propagation of the Gospel in his territories); and one of the clergy, Mr Wm. B., chosen and sent into England to beg of the K. a confirmation of this exchange by patent: but the rebellion prevented his return, and marr'd all that work so well begun, with all other good intentions of this good and reverend father indeed.

1. to the bishop of Kilmore's. 3. distance, as by their patent they were bound. 5. expediency. 7. them belonging to his bishoprick. 8. accept of those. by patent assigned. 10. effectuating whereof. 11. Earl of Strafford, the lord deputy. 12. exchange by geometricall proportion so. 15. it, at Mr Arthur Cullum's house in the parish of Kilmore. Bramwell. 16. there present. *at...house* om. 17. words; namely, that *he had.* 20. *Gospel in Ulster.* 23. *of the clergy and* om. 25, 26. territoryes) and of the clergy; and one of them chosen by all (Mr W— B—) and sent. 26. king. 27. a new patent. 28. return with it. 29. with many other. good man and reverend father

37. He was very exact in the probation, approbation and ordination of ministers. For he began to examine according to the articles of the church of Ireland (which he allwaies held in his hand till he had done); and after him his arch-deacon, Mr Tho. Price; at whose examination D. Bernard (then dean of Kilmore) saith in his character of the bishop, he was present in a solemn meeting of the clergy of that diocese for that end. And tho' he were one of the senior and principal fellows of the college of Dublin, when the bishop was provost, yet his indagation and diligent scrutiny of him took up at least two full hours. And he also gave free liberty to any person of the clergy to examine the person to be ordained; who were requir'd also to give their votes for his approbation, and to lay on their hands with the bishop upon the party to be ordeined, whether deacon or presbyter. He allwaies preach'd at the ordination.

38. The order of presbyter he never conferred upon any person under a year after his first order of deacon. He never laid hands rashly upon any man, nor appointed a sheapheard without a flock, or without most serious inspection into his qualifications, both academical and moral: he never defiled his heart nor hands with the least dishonest gain about ordination, institution, or induction, or any thing of that nature; but wrote all those instruments with his own hands, sealing and delivering them to the persons concern'd, charging them not to give any money upon any pretence whatsoever to any of his family, lest it should savour f. 62 r°. of simony, and anathematizing them if they should proffer any such thing, so contrary to the precept of our Lord Jesus Christ, *Gratis accepistis, gratis date;* upon which account (as above) he had many years before refused to pay what was

indeede, whose worke is with the Lord, and his reward with his God; who kindly accepts of the good will of his servants for the deed, as David's in building him a temple (2 Sam. 7). 6. character of him. 8. the diocesse. 11. *also* om. 12. full liberty. 14. and to give imposition of hands. 16. presbyter; and alwayes preached at the ordination, and administred the sacrament himself. 18. a year at least. deaconship. 19. his hands. 21. qualification. 23. or institution. 25. hand. 30—31. *as above* om. 31. do or pay.

unwarrantably demanded of him. Nay he would accompany the minister down stairs, and see him take horse upon that very account; whereas before in that place there was so much for the bishop, so much for his wife, so much for his chaplain, so much for the scribe or secretary, and so from the cook and butler, &c. even to the groom of the stable, and all the rest: so that the minister did not know how to come so well provided as to give content to so many: all which base exactions were to this man of God as vile and detestable as Gehezi his tampering with Naaman the Syrian was to Elisha; yea, as abominable as the Chrys-argyron (or tribute upon excrements) which Anastasius the emperor abolished out of the imperial revenue.

39. As he was carefull in setting men well qualified over the congregation of the Lord, like another Moses, so he had a special eye upon the life and conversation of his clergy, that they might be burning and shining lights among the poor blind Irish, and have a preheminence above their ignorant and wicked priests: when one said that *sagart an righ* was as wicked as *sagart an papa*, i.e. the king's priest was as wicked as the pope's priest, my lord was much troubled at it.

40. He did so much concern himself in all his clergies troubles and difficulties, and adhere unto them against their potent adversaries, as if he had been their natural father indeed. Insomuch that when one Mr Moor, the minister of Manner-Hamilton, had complain'd unto him that he had made a disadvantageous bargain out of servile fear with a great person that held two good livings of his for less than either of them was worth, he wrote unto sir Fr. Hamilton concerning it, to release the poor man from that surprisal.

1. demanded, upon the tender of his titles to his parsonage of Hornings-hearth in England, mentioned before (p. 89). He would commonly accompany. 3. account: so that in this respect he might humbly (with the man after God's own hart) wash his hands in innocency, and so compasse God's altar. Whereas before. 4. the chaplen. 6. *&c. even* om. 7. well know. 8. *well* om. many cravers. 10. Gehezi's. 11, 12. chrysargury which. 14. setting of men. 17. amongst. 19. said in open court. 19 and 20. *sagard*. 22. *at it* om. 30. worth, my lord wrote. 30. sir F. H.

But receiving not a satisfying, but a proud answer, he caused the poor minister to resigne both his livings to him (they belonging to his collation), which he willingly did forthwith, and the bishop put him into the present possession of a better than them both; and presenting two able men to the f. 62 v°. two vacated livings (whereof Mr John Cunningham, that married the daughter of D. Craig, a physitian of my lord's acquaintance in Venice, was one), he enlarged this poor man, and got many a blessing from all that heard of it. This sir Fr. H. having invited my lord to dine with him upon a time at Mannor-Hamilton, where he held a visitation, my lord refused to go, but would dine with his clergy, and promised to wait upon him afterwards. But when my lord approached near to the gates, they were shut against him; and having stood a good while knocking, and being desired by his servants to withdraw from such an uncivil affront, he said, *They will hear ere long;* and at length the proud knight came and receiv'd him.

41. I remember also when one Mr Buchanan was recommended unto him as a person fit for a living newly vacated by the death of the incumbent, after some theological discourse with him, being satisfied with his capacity of that spiritual promotion, and understanding by his discourse at dinner that he was related to the great Buchanan (who is styled by Joseph Scaliger *Poetarum nostri saeculi facile princeps*, and whose paraphrase upon the Psalms my lord delighted in above all Latin poetry), he went into his study after dinner, and drew up his institution, and gave it him to read (as the manner is) before his oath. But he

1. proud and unchristian-like answer, for the unjust know no shame. 2. poor oppressed. 3. forthwith, being long oppressed by his owne countreyman. 4. into present. 5. better benefice then them. presented. 6—8. Cunningham was one, who marryed the daughter of Dr Craig, a phisitian of my lord's ancient acquaintance in Venice; who, hearing from his sonne-in-law of Dr Bedell, my lord of Kilmore, wrote a large Italian letter to him of thanks for his great civilityes to himselfe in Venice, and now to his sonne-in-law in Ireland. Thus he enlarged. 9—18. *This...him* om. (inserted more at length in H far on p. 149, 150 ed. 1862). 24. Buchanan king James his tutor. 26. *and* om. 29. to read,

finding that he must be sworn to residence, and that he should hold no other benefice, refused to accept of the living upon such terms, unless these words were blotted out; which my lord refusing to do, M. B. went away without it, and it was conferr'd upon another more worthy.

42. And here, for your satisfaction, I will set down the form of all his institutions; which all that ever saw them did approve, as most conscientious and evangelical, save that one pluralist.

Gulielmus providentia divina Kilmorens. episcopus, dilecto in Christo A. B. fratri et sympresbytero salutem.

Ad vicariam perpetuam ecclesiae parochialis de C. nostrae Kilmorens. dioeceseos iam legitime vacantem et ad nostram collationem pleno iure spectantem (praestito per te prius iuramento de agnoscenda et defendenda regiae maiestatis suprema potestate in omnibus causis tam ecclesiasticis quam civilibus intra diciones suas; deque Anglicano ordine, habitu et lingua pro viribus in dictam parochiam introducendis
f. 63 r°. *iuxta formam statutorum huius regni; nec non de perpetua et personali residentia tua in vicaria praedicta; quodque nullum aliud beneficium ecclesiasticum una cum ea retinebis; nec ullum pro ea impetranda simoniacum pactum feceris, aut praestabis; deque canonica obedientia nobis ac successoribus nostris episcopis Kilmorens. praestanda) te admittimus, instituimus et canonice investimus; curamque animarum parochianorum ibidem commorantium tibi committimus per praesentes: obtestantes in Domino et pro obedientia, qua summo pastori teneris, iniungentes, ut eius gregem, quem suo sanguine acquisivit, tibi commissum diligenter pascas et in fide catholica instituas; officia divina lingua a populo intellecta peragas: exemplar ante omnia teipsum praebeas fidelibus in bonis operibus, ut erubescant adversarii, nihil habentes, quod in te reprehendant; mandantes insuper dilecto fratri Thomae*

before his oathes were administred unto him, as the manner is; who finding. 1. to personall and perpetuall residence. 2. benefice with it. 3. any such. 4, 5. Mr Buchanan, having another living that he was loath to leave, went away without this, and it. 7. *them* om.

archidiacono Kilmorensi, ut te in realem et actualem possessionem dictae vicariae de C. inducat cum effectu. In quorum omnium fidem et testimonium sigillum nostrum episcopale praesentibus apposuimus. Datum 7° die Maii, anno salutis 1640.

GULIEL. KILMORENS.

43. Nor did he onely write this still with his own hand; but there was no other instrument or title given to any minister but this, and that *gratis;* he having shaken his hand from holding of bribes as much as St Peter from the proffer made by Simon Magus, the original of that profitable sin; whereas now there are to be seen 3 or 4 instruments for a small living of £10 per annum sold at a very dear rate, both for buyer and also the seller. Yea, more than this, he gave induction also *gratis*, as I have seen upon the back of an institution thus written with his own hand: *Inductus fuit introscriptus A. C. in realem possessionem ecclesiae parochialis de Dyn, 12° die Nov.* 1637, *a me*

GULIELM. KILM. EPISCOPO.

as if he had studied to keep his clergy without charge, as the apostle his Corinthians. But yet tho' he wrote to aged ministers thus, *Fratri et synpresbytero*, with their academick degrees, yet in all orders of deacon and presbyter, and institutions to young men, he wrote still *dilecto nobis in Christo filio;* and to his own son, *in carne et in Christo filio;* and kept a register of all his *acta episcopalia*, written with his own hand in Latin; which I wish the world might see, if it hath escaped the deluge.

44. I know not any person that was permitted to be f. 63 v°. non-resident save one Mr Johnson, a man of a great reach, whom the E. of Strafford, the L. lievtenant, made his engenier over his great and glorious buildings at the Naas, at Carnu and Casha in the county of Wicklo. My lord

10. as Peter himself. 13. *a* om. 14. the buyer. 15. *gratis* om. I can shew. 18. Dyne. 19. Guilielmo Kilmoren. 22. thus in primitive stylo. 25. sonne William. 31. Earl. Lord. 33. and at Carnu and Cosha.

of K. in discourse upon a time with this Mr J. persuaded him to compose an universal character, to serve in all languages and nations; the conveniency of it being so great, and the thing itself so feasible, seeing we have universal mathematical characters, as the arithmetical figures, the geometrical, the astronomical of the planets, and of the 12 signes of the zodiack, &c.; which he undertook. My lord gave him a platform, which he observed; all the difficulty was about the syncategoremata. He styled his book *Wit-spell.* I have heard that some part of it was printed; but the rebellion prevented the finishing of it. Yet besides this Mr Johnson, D. Bernard, dean of Kilmore, was neither willing to be resident, nor to part with any one of his benefices, and therefore exchanged his deanery with D. Henry Jones, (eldest son of the bishop of Kilala) for his deanery of Ardagh; who continued dean of K. till the rebellion, and was afterward bishop of Clogher; and Dr Bernard, the dean of Ardagh, being the primate's chaplain, took up his residence at Droghedah, till all was lost.

45. For the better ordering of his clergy he call'd a diocesan synod to meet at the cathedral church of Kilmore. The text he preach'd upon was in Psal. 93. 5. *Thy testimonies are very sure; holiness becometh thine house, O Lord, for ever.* And because there was much talk of this synod, both far and near, and no small stir made about it by some fals-brethren of the same order, I will set down *verbatim* the canons made in it.

Decreta primae synodi Kilmorensis. In nomine Domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi.

Regnante in perpetuum ac gubernante ecclesiam suam eodem Domino nostro Iesu Christo, annoque imperii serenis-

1. Kilmore. Johnson, finding him to be an ingenious man and of a mercuriall witt, though of mechanick education, perswaded. 4. have already. 7. readily undertooke. 10. *have* om. 11. *the. of it* om. 11—19. '*Yet...lost*' inserted in H after *come* p. 103 l. 3 where see n. 20. calla. 22. *in* om. 24. *ever and ever;* and after sermon administers the sacrament to all his clergy. his synod. 25. *made* om. 26—27 it down verbatim as being present at it. *Decreta.*

simi principis ac domini Caroli D. G. Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae regis 14°, *cum ad ecclesiam cathedralem Kilmorensem monitu Gulielmi episcopi convenisset capitulum totius dioeceseos, ad synodum dioecesanam celebrandam; post fusas ad Dominum preces pro publica pace regisque et familiae* f. 64 r°. *regiae incolumitate, et peracta sacra synaxi; verba fecit episcopus de eiusmodi synodorum antiquitate, necessitate et auctoritate. Et cum venisset in consultationem, quibus rationibus et fidei sinceritas et morum sanctitas et decor domus Dei, ministrorum libertas conservari posset; nihil conducibilius visum est, quam ut ea quae a patribus bene ac prudenter antiquitus instituta sunt, quasi postliminii iure revocarentur. Atque tractatu inter nos habito, ad extremum in haec capitula unanimiter consensum est:*

1. *Synodum dioecesanam sive capitulum quotannis feria* 4ª *secundae hebdomadae mensis Septembris in ecclesia Kilmorensi tenendam; eum diem huic conventui statum et sollemnem fore sine ullo mandato: Si res poscat in ceteris quoque ordinationum temporibus presbyterium contrahi, episcopi mandatum expectandum.*

2. *In episcopi absentia aut morbo vicarius eius, si presbyter fuerit, praesidebit; alioqui archidiaconus, qui de iure vicarius est episcopi.*

3. *Vicarius episcopi in posterum nullus constituatur aut confirmetur, qui laicus sit; nec quisquam prorsus, nisi durante duntaxat beneplacito.*

4. *Ut archidiaconus de triennio in triennium dioecesin personaliter visitet; singularum ecclesiarum aediumque mansionalium sarta tecta tueatur, libros et ornamenta in indiculo descriptos habeat, defectus omnes supplendos curet; episcopalis procurationis dimidium habeat, ea condicione, ut episcopus eo anno non visitet.* De hoc capitulo ampliat capitulum.

5. *Ut secundum pristinam et antiquam huius dioeceseos Kilmorensis constitutionem in tribus eius regionibus tres decani sint, ab ipsis ministris eiusdem decanatus eligendi; qui vitam et mores cleri iugi circumspectione custodiant et*

1. *Dei gratia.* 10. *et ministrorum.* 25. *laicus est.* 27. marg. n. om.

ad episcopum referant, eiusque mandata accipiant et, quoties opus erit, per apparitorem decanatus ad compresbyteros suos transmittant.

6. *In quoque decanatu, in oppido eius principali, conventus sive capitulum sit ministrorum quolibet saltem mense, ubi lectis plene publicis precibus contionentur per vices, sine longis precibus et prooemiis.*

7. *Advocationes ecclesiarum nondum vacantium, quae ad collationem episcopi spectant, nemini conferantur aut confirmentur.*

8. *Possessiones ecclesiae non alienentur aut locentur contra regni iura; nempe terrarum mensalium nulla sit locatio, nisi quoad episcopus in vita aut sede sua supersit, ceterarum in plures annos, quam leges sinunt, aut prioribus locationibus triennio minus nondum expletis.*

9. *Ut corpora defunctorum deinceps in ecclesiis non humentur; sed nec intra quintum pedem a pariete ecclesiae extrorsum.*

10. *Ut mulieres in sacrario non sedeant, sed infra cancellos, et quidem a viris secretae.*

f. 64 v°. 11. *Ut sacrarium in consistorium non convertatur, aut sacra mensa notariis aut scribis sit pro pluteo.*

12. *Ne in funeribus mulieres luctum et ululatum faciant.*

13. *Ut ossa defunctorum in coemeteriis non coacerventur, sed tradantur sepulturae.*

14. *Ut matricula sit, in quam referantur nomina eorum, qui ad sacros ordines admissi sunt, aut instituti, aut admissi ad beneficia, sive ad curam animarum cooptati; clericorum item parochialium et ludi magistrorum; neque deinceps ad litteras testimoniales in visitationibus exhibendas adigantur.*

15. *Ne quis minister oblationes ad funera, baptismum, eucharistiam, nuptias, post puerperium, aut portionem canonicam cuiquam locet.*

16. *Ne quis eiusmodi oblata acerbe exigat, praesertim a pauperibus.*

17. *Ut fas sit ministro a sacra cena repellere eos, qui se ingerunt ad synaxim, neque nomina sua pridie parocho significarunt.*

18. *Ut pueri a septimo saltem aetatis anno, donec confirmentur per manuum impositionem, stent inter catechumenos; factoque catalogo, singulis dominicis certus eorum numerus sistatur in ecclesia examinandus.*

19. *Si quis minister quenquam ex fratribus suis alibi accusaverit, priusquam episcopo denuntiet, ab eius consortio ceteri omnes abstinebunt.*

20. *Clerici comam ne nutriant; et habitu clericali, prout synodo Dublinensi constitutum est, incedant.*

21. *Oeconomi parochiarum provideant, ne in ecclesia tempore cultus divini pueruli discursent; utque canes arceantur, constitutis ostiariis vel multa imposita, si quis semel atque iterum admonitus, canem secum in ecclesiam introduxerit.*

22. *Ut nulla excommunicationis sententia feratur ab uno solo ministro, sed ab episcopo, assistentibus quotquot in capitulo fuerint praesentes.*

Haec decreta synodalia, quoniam ex usu huius dioeceseos futura credimus, et ipsi observabimus, et quantum in nobis est, ab aliis observanda curabimus; adeoque manus suae quisque subscriptione corroboramus. Septembr. 19°. 1638.

46. When the report of this synod was carried up to Dublin it was taken so heinously, as if the word or thing had never been known in the church of God before. The L. lieutenant, the E. of Strafford, was made acquainted with it, as if the bishop of Kilmore had set up a new platform of government in the church. A praemunire was the least censure; he must be cited to the high commission-court or the star-chamber immediately, &c.; and many such things were upon the tongues of many. Others said, that he did nothing against the laws of God or of the land;

21. 1638. All the ministers subscribed to all, save Dr Faythfull Teate, who wrote thus: *Omnibus subscribo praeterquam decimo decreto.* And the reason was this, because he had erected a new seate for his wyfe in the chancell but a litle before, and was loath to remoove it. 25. Lord. Earl. 27. modell and platforme. 28. cited immediately to the high commission court or the starr chamber; and every minister, that was at that synod, &c. 31. he had done.

whereupon the good bishop studied the defence of what he had done, and put it also in writing, that all his adversaries
f. 65 r°. could not gainsay; that if he had been put to it, he might have it in a readiness. All this was made known to the bishop by a faithfull friend, Mr Thomas Price, his archdeacon, who had shewed the state and the prelates all the transaction of this synod in writing. My L. primate of Armagh thought it most prudent to let him alone, who had assembled that synod, lest they should find him more able to defend what he had done, than any person whatsoever to oppose him; so all their threatnings came to nothing, and the l. of K. heard no more of it; it having been the constant practice of all bishops in the Greek and Latin church in all ages. Many said that which Theodosius said of Ambrose, the B. of Millan, in another case, *Solus Kilmorensis novit se gerere ut episcopum;* as all the prelates once said of him before this, upon his taking to himself his place of judicature in his own consistory; of which I shall afterwards give you some account also.

2. done in that synod. 7. Dr Usher, my lord primate of Ardmagh. 8. alone, that had. 9. lest peradventure. 10. able and ready. whomsoever. 12. my lord of Kilmore. 14. church ever since episcopacy was voted and advanced, by the bounty of the kinges of the earth, above presbytery. Theodosius the emperour. 15. Ambrose bishop. 17. in his. 18. afterwards I shall. 19. also. But one word of this Mr Price his archdeacon, who was very intimate with him. He married the daughter of sir Thomas Dutton, and came over chaplen to the infantry that came out of Ireland by order from the king, after the marques of Ormond had made a cessation of armes with the rebells in '43, as A. C. with the horse. At the siedge of Nantwitch he was shott from Acton steeple, neer the towne, in the right eye; and the bullet (which he shewed me) taken out under his left eare, and yet the body of his eye not destroyed, but darkned. He was advanced to the bishoprick of Kildare at the restauration, and now is archbishop of Cashill in Conaght. That defeate before Nantwitch was accounted the greatest losse that ever the king sustained, and the greatest victory that ever the P. obtained in all their warrs. When those forces that had beene more then conquerours over their paganish enemies in Ireland, and accounted it their cheefe joy to be ingaged against them, who never durst so much as looke upon them one way, but fled into boggs, woods, swamps, many wayes before them, no sooner had they set their foote upon their owne land, in their

47. In his visitations of his clergy (which were twice a year) it was not, as in many places, for the clergy to meet and answer to their names, and then to exhibit their titles, and ask what is to pay, and away without any sermon, as now, or as in all other secular courts or monthly meetings. His visitation was not, *ad dominandum, nec ad lucrandum, nec ad epulandum*, as the *Scrutinium Sacerdotale* hath it: for he alwaies preach'd and administred the sacrament and gave heavenly instructions to his clergy and people: as also he did constantly twice a year at the county-town of Cavan preach before the judges in his episcopal habit at the general assizes of the county. The procurations (that were but small) he bestowed in defraying the charges of the ministers' dinner, and the rest he gave to pious uses, as to the poor Irish malefactors that were starving in the prison in want of all things.

native soyle, but after they had surprizd and taken Harding castle and Berston castle, were all of them surprizd (Sir Michael Earnley, Sir Fowlk Huntes, coll. G. Monck, Gibson, Warren, Broughton, L. Ranadlagh's regiments) by letting in the waters upon them, where they could neyther fight and stand or fall with honor, nor flee with safety, and so were overthrowne and taken by meer countreymen (under the conduct of Sir T— F— and Sir W— B—) that never had beene bred in such a schoole of warr as those victorious worthyes. I remember the speeches of many of the souldiers that were called off from the Irish warr (that was not founded upon conjecturall foundations) to this unnaturall of England: *Why should we leave God, before God leave us?* They came over so unwillingly, that they were soon dispersed and crumbled away to nothing. But to leave this digression, and to returne to my first intention; I have something more to say of my lord of Kilmore in reference to his visitations of his clergy, which were and are twice a-yeir in all places. 1, 2. His visitations were not, as in many. 3. names in the nomenclature. 4. what's. and so away. 5. now, as. meetings of the justices and leets, wherin yet the stewards do often give excellent exhortations in order to the people's obedience to the lawes of God and man, to keep them in peace and love; as the learned judges do at the assizes twice a yeir. 6. visitations were. 7. hath it, but *ad aedificandum*, according to the apostle's rule, *Let all things be done to edification.* 8. sacrament to all his clergy, and to all that were present with them, that desyred to participate of that sacred ordinance. 9. as likewyse he. 10. constantly preach. 10—12. Cavan at the general assizes of the county in his episcopall habit before the circuit judges; which added great grace to the assembly and contentment to all. 13. of all. 14. the residue. releeve the poore. 15 in prison.

No orders nor instruments, that had been once exhibited and indorsed, were ever to be called for any more in his time, which hindred much the usual gain of the consistory-officers of all sorts. His clergy sate round about him, all covered when he was so, by his command. He did often mention that old canon (so old that it is forgotten long ago), *Sedente episcopo, ne stet presbyter.* But he that was before him was chargeable to the clergy in his procurations, exhibitions and above all in his refections and epulacions, every one being assessed according to the value of his living. Even his servants bare rule over the clergy and people, as Nehemiah speaks of those governors that were before him; but so did not he, because of the fear of the Lord.

f. 65 v°. 48. But the charge of the ordinary and annual episcopal visitation was nothing to the untollerable abuse and usurpation of the metropolitane (which was every 3rd year) and of the regal, which was every 7th year; when such a train followed the visitors, that the refection of twice so many janizaries had not been so scandalous nor chargeable by much: *Haud ignota loquor.* It is a great honor to the bishops of England, and happiness to their clergy, that they are exempted from these sad visitations, if their triennial and sep-

15. *in want of all things* om. 5. command, and not standing, waiting upon the bishop or his lay-chancellour bare headed, amongst the plebian multitude without respect or discrimination, like so many lackees in the bishop's livery, as now the manner is. He would often. 7. there before. 9, 10. epulations. Even his menial servants. 13. fear of God; the want of which was so great that the clergy must be assessed, every one according to the value of his living, to pay for their commessations, as if it had beene at the interview of Bacchus and Venus, so shamefully excessive were they. 15. intollerable. 16. yeir) called the trienniall visitation. 17. yeir, like a heathenish jubile. sad train. 18. visitors, Dr Rives and Sing, as followed and accompanied Vitellius, when he advanced towards Rome, after the overthrow of Otho his competitor, as Tacitus gives an account, *calonum ingens numerus.* For day and night they gave themselves over to such riott and excesse, as if they had come out of the bottomless pitt, or were posting to that visitation: and the poore clergy must pay for all, under paine of suspicion of heresy or of excommunication, which they carried under their girdle or had girded about their loynes; and the refection of twice so many janisaryes. 19. nor so. 22. sad, if not diabolicall rather

tennial were homogeneous with those of Ireland. I remember when D. Usher's metropolitan-apparitor-general serv'd my lord bishop of K. with the prohibition, that for that year he should exercise no episcopal jurisdiction, &c.; that when he read these words, *ad quos omnis et omnimoda iurisdictio de iure devolvitur*, &c., and those other words, *propter imminens animarum periculum*, &c., that he threw it out of his hand, as if he had said unto it, *Get thee hence*, and stamp't with his foot, &c. For that year he must act nothing as a bishop, or buy his privilege of these secular men at a dear rate, that knew nothing but their dishonest gain.

49. But perhaps you may think it somewhat strange (and it troubled many good men) that D. Usher (of blessed memory), a man so famous in his generation, even to the ends of the earth, should be so much concerned in all these things, and never once attempt the least redress of any of them. I have heard my l. of K. (that loved and honoured his person, his preaching, his learned writings, as much as any man that ever knew him) say, that *he had often spoken to him of these intollerable abuses, and many more, but could not prevail with him to do or meddle with any thing in matters of discipline, no, not in his own courts, saying,*

than evangelicall, visitations, if their triennialls and septennialls were. 1. to those. Ireland, and whether they continue there or not, I know not these many yeares. 2. Dr. (*speciosa et spatiosa nomina*) serv'd. 3. lord of Kilmore. bull of prohibition. 5. those words in the bull. 7. away out. 8. hand as a menstruous cloth. 10. secular merchants. 11. gaine; and so in the regall visitation. So that the very soule of this righteous man was vexed with the unwarrantable degradations and usurpations of those men, *caeci avaritia, quis omnia atque inhonesta vendere mos erat.* 13. *and...men* om. Dr. 15. earth, whose prayse is throughout all the churches. 16. things and courts. redresse of the greatest abuse, being the first man named in many courts, as in prerogative, the high commission, the court of delegates, as well as in his owne diocesan and metropolitan. This troubled many worthy persons that honoured him much, that he that had so much power and authority committed unto him to do much good, yet in these thinges of great concernment in church and state should do nothing at all, which made preaching to be of little esteeme and to litle purpose, but to make the wicked walk on every side, &c. 17. lord of Kilmore. 22. courts, but take them as he found them, and so leave them worse; but that he referred all

that he took them as he found them, and referred all to his officers and surrogates, till a time of reformation by a general synod should come, which he still looked for. The truth is, he so gave himself wholly over to the search of the fathers and all antiquity, and to that apostolick work of praying and preaching the word, that he had no time scarse once to think of the discipline of the church, or to regulate any thing that was amiss, tho', according to his place and station in the church (being fixed as a bright shining star in the highest orb thereof), God had required it of him, and put it in his power to doe it. Therefore when he came to die, he earnestly besought the Lord to pardon his sins of omission.

f. 66 r°. The speech of his own physitian, D. Bootius, a learned Dutchman (who was also physitian to the e. of Strafford), is very remarkable; *Si Armachanus noster esset tam exactus disciplinator, quam antiquitatis indagator et veritatis propugnator et evangelii praedicator, procul dubio designari et constitui potuisset totius orbis Christiani ecclesiasticus administrator.*

50. Having given some account of those great abuses, that he found among his clergy, viz. pluralities and non-residence, the bane of the clergy and misery of the people:

these matters ecclesiasticall to his officials and surrogates till a tyme of reformation, which he still looked for. So that in the meanetyme all orderlines and goodnes went to wrack, and a leading prelate did what him listed in all these courts of judicature, to the great scandall of the church government, and damage of many, and ripening all for destruction which came upon us as travayle upon a woman with cheild, and we were not able to escape it, nor more then Shilo, for the like abuses under Ely's two surrogates Hophni and Phineas, as Jer. vii. 12. The truth is, my lord primate of Ardmagh gave himselfe over so much to the search. 9. fixed in its highest orbe as a glorious starr. 11. power to redresse; therefore. 12. omission, about thinges left undone. And this neglect of church discipline was bemoaned by all that knew him and loved his holy and harmeless conversation, and admired his incomparable learning in other thinges and indefatigable studdy. In this point, or dead flye, only beneath himselfe, in which though more learned any concerned then many, yet did less then any: the best men being but men at the best. 13. Dr Bootius, a Dutchman. 14. earl of Strafford, and a learned man. 20. Thus having given you. of the reformation of those. 21. that this

I shall in the next place set down his reformation of his courts and ecclesiastical consistory. *Hic totum est pro corpore vulnus.* The corruption was so great, that he saw nothing in his courts when he entred bishop, but what Solomon saw long before, *the place of judgement, that wickedness was there, and the place of righteousness, that iniquity was there.* He found both clergy and people a prey and a spoil to a lay-official by patent, and none to deliver them. And as there was a simoniacal and sacrilegious venality of all holy things in his predecessor's house; so there were manifold extortions in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in his courts. He was wearied by continual complaints from all sorts of people. The dreadfull sentence of excommunication (both major and minor, which ought not to be pronounced without mature deliberation and highest reverence) as common, and therefore as little regarded and set by, as the dirt of the streets, or as it is called in the Irish tongue 'Comil-Vahu,' the extinguishing or blowing out of a candle; a ceremony used by the church of Rome in their popish excommunications and interdictions. He found the officers of all sorts so polluted with bribes and filthiness, that one could not touch their garments: instead of repentance for sin, nothing but impenitency and commutation of penance for dishonest gain, &c.

51. Therefore as a good shepheard ought to do, he resolves to drive away the wolf from his flock. He sits in judgement with some of his ministers covered on each side of him; and when any sentence, whether interlocutory

good bishop found. 1. the reformation. 2. ecclesiasticall consistoryes, most falsely styled spirituall, till he came to sit and act there, as he esteemed himself in conscience bound and in right and equity sufficiently authorized thereunto as a bishop: *hic. in corpore.* 7—9. *He found...them* om. 12. courts, as he left them. He found both clergy and people a prey and a spoyle to a lay-officiall, or laybishop (if ye will), by patent, and none to deliver. He was. 14. minor and major. 15. pronounced or denounced. most mature. 18. *cvinilvalu.* 19. extinguishing in water. 27. flock, that they might be no more a prey; and sits. 29. of him, with liberty to give their opinion in each

or definitive, was to be given, he asked their opinion man by man. Many fees he alltogether remitted, and many he reduced; the one to the poor, that had little or nothing to pay, specially the poor Irish, that were alwaies obnoxious; the other for moderation sake, avoiding severity and the exacting of the utmost farthing.

f. 66 v°. 52. But this practice of his, tho' never so warrantable in itself, and acceptable to all, both clergy and people, and renowned over all Ireland for the exemplariness of it, yet was not long free from opposition; no more than that good work (Ezr. iv. 9) of Ezra in the accusation of Rehum the chancellor and Shimsay the scribe or register. For D. Alane Cook the chancellor and his men, seeing the hope of their gain was like to be cut off by this means, if the bishop were suffered thus to continue, as he had begun, to sit and judge in his own courts; as he had already disappointed them of all their gain from ordinations and institutions, &c., (he writing all such instruments with his own hand, and giving them freely) made head, and conspired all of them together against him, to hinder him in his progress. Dr. Cook the lay-chancellor commenced a suit in the chancery against him; who made his just defence so

case; and when. 1. opinion and votes. 3. poor Irish. 5. moderation's. and exacting the. 6. farthing: in some degree reducing his episcopall to a synodicall government and more freindly judicature, according to the proposall made by Dr Usher, archbishop of Ardmagh, (by way of accommodation) to the parliament and assembly of divines at Westminster *anno* 1641, a duzon of yeares before this. 7. though. 9. examplariness. 11. *Ezr.* iv. 9 om. 11. from the accusation. 12. register. He found the mysterious title given by old Simeon to his Lord and Master, σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον, verifyed in his faithfull servant, that begins now to suffer in His cause and to be persecuted for righteousnes sake. 13. Dr Allen Cook the old lay-chancellor. 16. courts, that were called in and by his name. 17. their gryst from ordination and institution &c. 19. given and bestowing. 20. against them. 21. progress; as Sanballat and Tobiah did against Nehemiah, when they understood that the breaches of the walls of Jerushalem began to be stopt. But this learned and prudent bishop could not be hindred by their murmurings, nor would give way to their usurpation of his episcopall jurisdiction on any termes; as the bishop of Bath and Wells is reported to have done (out of pusillanimity) to Dr Duke his lay-

learnedly, and furnished his advocates with such unanswerable arguments fetched from all antiquity, as all his adversaries were astonished at.

53. *He wondred* (he said) *that he should not be allowed to discharge that trust, that was reposed in him; that one half of his episcopal office should be alienated to a mercenary hireling, that came not, but for to spoil and to destroy; he being bound by his consecration and oath to rule as well as to feed his flock over which the Holy Ghost had made him bishop; that this his practice should seem new and strange, which is the practice of all the reformed churches that have bishops, without lay-chancellors. Bishop Jewell sate often with his chancellor, and was president in his own consistory; that his pastoral care might reach his jurisdiccion in his court, as well as in his pulpit. The titular bishops that are put over the popish party in Ireland by the pope, exercise jurisdiction in private over the Irish;* and *that a Protestant bishop should be denied the same power in publique, that holds it by patent from the king, seemed strange, &c.*

54. Many copies of his pleadings (it being a rare case) were taken and sent into England, as well as through all Ireland. And allbeit all the prelates wished him good success, that knew what belonged to their office; yet none

chancellour, when he told his bishop flatly, that *he had nothing to do to sit there*, and shewed him his pipes. The bishop of Kilmore thought himselfe as much obleiged by his patent and consecration oath to maintaine and assert the episcopal discipline, as well as evangelicall and apostolicall doctrine. Whereupon Dr Allen Cooke. 22. against his bishop. 1. advocate. 2. arguments (being denyed the liberty to plead for himselfe, which iniquity he tooke heynously, that a bishop was not allowed to plead for himselfe) fetcht. antiquity, since the Christian emperours allowed bishops any jurisdiction over the clergy or laity in the Roman empyre: so that all his adversaryes were astonished at his answers and pleadings. 4. *he said* om. 6. alienated and usurped by a. 8. inviolable oath. 9. made him *episcopum;* that this. 12. lay-chancellours to exercise a lawlesse and arbitrary dominion over them, as well as (without them) over the clergy and layty. 14. his episcopall care. 15. set over. 19. *seemed strange* om. 20. rare and singular case never disputed there before. 23. office and episcopall dignity, and ownd him at first as their only champion against their despoylers, and told him that *they were but* semi-episcopi, *halfe-bishops*,

did, nor durst assist him because of his potent adversaries and the great opposition that was made unto him. So that
67 r°. notwithstanding all that this holy and truly learned bishop could say or do for himself, either by himself or others, he was unjustly cast and fined to pay £100 charges to Dr. Cook the plaintiff chancellor: one of the greatest reasons, why the l. chancellor gave sentence against him being this, which the bishop had from his own mouth: *All that my father left me was a register's place: therefore he would maintain the alienation and exercise of all consistorial offices without the bishop.* This I had from the bishop's mouth.

55. But notwithstanding the decree in chancery against him to divest him of the life of his episcopacy, his over-ruling power in his own courts, and to leave him only a titular bishop, as the popish prelates were; whether by secret advice from some eminent statesmen, that much approv'd his cause and valiant resolution in the defence of his episcopal dignity, and in rescuing and delivering his flock from tyranny; or by a powerfull conviction of the conscience of his adversary, D. Cook, that might well be ashamed of his ill-acquired victory, I know not, (tho' both might be true): but this I know, that this holy man of God sate in his own consistory ever hereafter without any oppo-

homonimously so called, or meir titulars in that respect, or scarce so much; and that they would stand by him and adhere unto him to the uttermost of their power. But when it came to the push, they all [illegible] spoke him, like a deceitfull bow, and left him to stand or fall to his own [illegible] which redounded much to their dishonour, to leave their [illegible] the field alone, fighting for them all against many enemies. [illegible]y God (with Paul) that it be not layd to their charge: notwithstanding the Lord assisted him and strengthned him; for none else did or durst take his part because of. 2. him by the whole family of lay-chancellours and their adherents. 4. lie is. 5. Dr Cooke the plentiff. 7. lord chancellor Bolton. gave a decree and judgment against. this: when my lord of Kilmore asked his lordship afterwards, *why he was overthrowne, having the better cause?* his answer was (which my lord had from his owne mouth). 9. *and therefore.* 13. lyfe and soule of his episcopall dignity and authority, his presidency and over-ruling. 14. only a halfe-bishop or titular, as. 16. statesmen (as was supposed) that much. 18. dignity and jurisdiction. 19. tyranny and oppression. 20. Dr Cooke. might justly

sition; and that D. Cook never offer'd to interrupt him in the least, nor ever demanded the £100 wherein the bishop was condemned for his charges; but did delegate his power and interest as chancellor to an Irish gentleman, one Mr. Ash, as his surrogate, and to Patrick Coddan as register; who observed my L. of K. in all his orders and proceedings in his courts with all fitting respects, till the rebellion suspended all courts, and determined all petty controversies.

56. And allbeit their gains were not half so much as formerly they had been (when one was put into the court for threepenny worth of tithe-turf, and it cost £5 e're he could get off): yet they seem'd contented with what they could catch; so that the bishop did freely and conscientiously what he had done afore-time; and this was pleasing to God, and profitable to good and bad, who all had present hearing and sudden dispatch of all matters that came within the cognizance of that court, whether decimal, testamental or matrimonial, or things presentable by articles and punishable there, by far less mulcts and amercements than ever before. Insomuch that the consistory, that was look'd upon before as a common grievance, was in his daies esteemed a sanctuary to the poor and needy. And by his f. 67 v°. lenity and moderation many priests and friars, that were still brought in for fornication or adultery, were prevailed with to renounce their filthiness, and to have good thoughts of the reformed religion, that had appointed to all mankind an antidote against uncleanness by holy and honourable marriage, as the bishop often told them in court; and several of them were converted from popery, and did marry, as I shall shew you hereafter more at large.

be. 1. Dr Cooke. 2. hundred pounds. 6. lord of Kilmore. 7. all reverend respects. 8. and the bloody sword determined. 9. gaine were. 10. it had beene. 11. thrippence worth. of tyth-turff, a fewell much used in Ireland, and it cost five pound. 14. a-foretime, as it is said of Daniel in another case, and this was pleasing to God (*for to him that knoweth to do good and doth it not, to him it is sin*, sayth St James) and profitable. 15. bad, that had. 18. by the articles of inquisition. 19. punishable in the court by. 20. so that. 21. *before* om. common newsance. 22. needy, so that by. 25. their uncleannes. 27. against all filthines of flesh and spirit.

57. Having briefly, but truly shewed you what course this good, evangelical and primitive bishop took at his entrance upon his new office, to reform his clergy and consistory; it remains in the next place, that you take a view of the course he took for the reformation of the Irish people, and reducing them from the darkness of popery to God's marvelous light in the Gospel; of which the English and Irish state had been very neglectfull ever since the reformation; for which (by God's just indignation) they have often sadly smarted, and have seen the destruction of all their pleasant and profitable plantations once in 40 years, with the blood of vast multitudes of innocent people, in all their barbarous massacres and unparallell'd cruelties. And allthough Lionel duke of Clarence, lord lieutenant of Ireland, *anno* 1361 made laws for the civilizing the Irish in speech and apparel, yet it never took effect: But as they were *asperi incultique, quis cibus erat caro ferina, lac atque humi pabulum uti pecoribus, nulla aedificia, nisi mapalia et tugu-ria, religio nulla, superstitio multa &c.* So they continue at this day, without civility, without God, without Christ, being alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, as much as from the commonwealth of England. Therefore unto this day they do after their former manners, being still lock'd up and kept in the dungeon of ignorance by their idolatrous priests, that know not the Lord more than the sons of Eli, or the

Sham-rocks, bil-lar, gleo-ran, luss, &c.

30. *you* om. large. Whilst I am writting this, it comes into my mynde that in the yeir 1646 I met with Dr Cooke by chance in London, who spake as reverendly of my lord of Kilmore as any could doe, and said, *he thought there had not beene such a man upon the face of the earth till he tryed him*, and that *he was too hard for all the civilians in Ireland; and had he not beene borne downe by mere force, he had undoubtedly overthrowne all the consistory courts by lay chancellors and restored to all the bishops their severall jurisdictions.* He seemed to me to bemoane his death, and was courteous and respectfull to me for his sake. And I saw him no more. 3. consistory courts. 4. ye take a view also. 8. neglective. 9. which iniquity and omission of duty. 13. unparallelled crueltyes; wherof there are many records and living witnesses at this day in all these three kingdomes, that are mutually concerned in the wellfare of each other, and sadly bewayle the neglect of their reformation. 15. of the Irish. 16. they never. 22. England, through the ignorance that is in them because of the blindnes

priests of Baal that Elijah destroyed; but by a little Latin service (which many of themselves cannot construe, as knowing nothing but their portuse or breviary, as I have often tried) and absolute dominion over their persons, consciences and all they have, and perpetual and promiscuous uncleanness (which they esteem a venial sin and make no more of than the washing of one's hands), having taken away the key of knowledge, they are taken captives by them at their pleasures; so that they that lead them cause them to err, and they that are led by them, are destroyed with them. This is a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation to all succeeding generations (as it hath been to all former), that the Irish are destroyed for lack of knowledge, and we destroyed by them for rejoicing to have it so. For this noble and high attempt of my L. of K. to reduce them from their evil waies of ignorance and superstition, mett with greater opposition than all his former attempts for the reformation of his clergy and courts, as I shall shew anon. f. 68 r°.

58. In the first place he engages with his clergy to keep an English school, or to cause it to be kept, in all their respective parishes; in some of which was not one Protestant, because not one of a thousand could either read or write. And to this end he printed at Dublin, *anno* 1631, a small catechism of one sheet, called the A. B. C, or the Institution of a Christian; wherein is the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments, and some select portions of Scriptures conteining the sum of the Gospel, as namely Gal. iii. 10, 11, 12, 13. Joh. iii. 16, 17, 18, 19. 2 Cor. v. 19, 20, 21. Act. xiii. 38. Some short praiers also of script. sen-

of their hart. 25. any more. 1. destroyed for seducing and deceiving the people; but by. 4. persons and consciences and over all. 6. sin, a small matter. 9. erre and readily to do whatsoever they command, and they. 15. lord of Kilmore. 17. reforming. 18. shew you. 19. ingages all his. 21. there was. 22. because there was. that could. write, for the education of their children. 23. in Dublin. 27. scripture. 29. For the poore people never heard anything of Jesus Christ and His merits, but alwayes the fabulous meritts of former saints and of their owne goode workes sounding in their eares to make their priests lords of all. Some short prayers also of Scripture sentences, for they know not what belonged to prayer, but to mumble over upon their beads *Ave-Marys* and *Pater-*

sentences, and some short graces before and after meat. Of this Catechism the one page is English, and the other Irish. And this he sent abroad through all the diocese, which by God's blessing was like to do abundance of good. For the poor ignorant creatures began to hear something of God in their own language, and to learn the Creed and the Lord's prayer &c. in their own tongue, which they never could before, for they were never taught it. I have seen many of them express as much joy at the reading of a psalm, or of a chapter in the N. T. in the Irish tongue, as was discovered by the children of the captivity when Ezra read the law unto them, Neh. viii.

59. The next thing he went about for their reformation was to persuade some of their learnedst priests and friars, that were bred in the seminaries beyond sea, to forsake popery and be converted. Of them he had a convent not far from Kilmore. He desired them to put in writing what they could say for their own religion, or against our's, which they did, and upon satisfaction given made open recantation in the cathedral church on the Lord's day; abjured all parts and appendices of popery from head to foot. To encourage

nosters innumerable (whosoever were present) with as litle reverence and devotion as understanding and profitt: and some short graces before and after meate, for the Irish never did crave a blessing, nor returne any thanks after meate, any more then beasts; only if a priest or fryar be present, he sayth, *Benedicite et benedicamus Domino*, and then mutters over his *Pater-noster* in his throate, more like a conjurer then a praying Christian. And that is all of this short catalogue [?catechism]; the one. 2. *and* om. 3. *And* om. throughout. 5. somewhat. 7. could say. 8. *it* om. 10. New Testament. 11. people of. 12. Neh. viii., or our progenitors did in the dayes of Henry VIII., when they would goe many myles to heare a chapter read in the English tongue. 13 goes about. 14. is to beperswade. 15. popish seminaries. 16. for he had a convent of them not. 17. desyres. 20. church of Kilmore. day and. 21. pendickles. foote. And by this meanes he thought and hoped to prevayle over the ignorance of the elder sort of people, when they were instructed in the wayes of God by men of their owne; though many of them knew as litle of the true God, and of the truth of God contayned in the Scriptures, as the Indians do at this day, and the most part of their idolatrous priests, as the pawawes of America. To one of many Irish converts I will set downe this one letter, being one of the least,

written to one of the learnedst of them in a most convincing & winning style, as always his manner was.

Guilielmus Kilmorensis ecclesiae minister dilecto fratri Cornelio Sheridin, salutem in Christo Iesu.

De tua cum Dalio liticula scripseram ad Dionisium nostrum ante acceptas litteras illius et tuas, quid mihi ex aequo et bono constituendum videretur. Itaque venio ad expediendas dubitationes tuas, quae tantum abest ut mihi fuerint ingratae, ut nihil potuerit mihi a te gratius accidere; nam et tui officii puto, nihil temere in negotio religionis statuere, et mei studio tuo non deesse. Movet te quod ait Dominus Mat. x. 42 Quicunque potum dederit uni ex minimis istis calicem aquae frigidae tantum in nomine discipuli, amen dico vobis non perdet mercedem suam; *ex quo sic arguis, 'Opus mercede dignum est meritorium'. Sic enim inverto propositionem tuam, ne conclusio sit affirmata* [? affirmativa] *in secunda figura. Assumis 'Atqui opus nostrum est dignum mercede, et quidem aeterna, ergo' etc. Ego vero tuam assumptionem pernego, et valde miror, si ex insita dignitate calicem aquae frigidae datum alicui ex Christi discipulis expendas ut condignum videri possit ad vitam aeternam (quam gratuito Dei dono ascribit apostolus, Rom. vi.* 23) *et ad eam gloriam, ad quam passiones huius temporis condignas esse negat, cap. viii.* 18. *Sed instas, claram assumptionem videri ex ipsis verbis Domini,* mercedem suam (*perinde ac si sensus esset, mercedem aeternam, qua dignus est*). *Sed fallit te σχῆμα λέξεως et quidem dupliciter. Nam merces, hic et alibi fere, per metaphoram pro praemio ponitur, quod non semper ex operis dignitate, aut operantis merito, sed quandoque ex liberalitate remunerantis confertur. Id tametsi satis expresse apostolus explicat, Rom. iv.* 4, *cum ait* ei qui operatur mercedem non imputari secundum gratiam; *at multo clarius Salvator in parabola operariorum conductorum ad laborandum in vinea Matt. xx.* 15, *ubi paterfamilias inducitur mercedes ipsas, non ex operis valore, sed ex bonitate beneplaciti et arbitrii sui, conductis distribuens. Talis est merces sive praemium aquae frigidae. Hoc primum. Alterum est quod* suam *pro eo quod esset 'sibi dandam et qua dignus est' interpretari videris. Quaero ex te, quum in oratione Dominica dicimus,* Panem nostrum da nobis, *sensus sit, 'quo digni sumus,' an vero, 'qui Te donante fiat noster'? Similiter cum Dominus de aucupantibus humanam laudem ex bono opere testatur,* Amen dico vobis receperunt mercedem suam, *utrum ita intellexerit, 'qua digni sunt,' an 'quam ambiebant, captabant, et qua maiorem non impetrabunt'? Clarum est ergo, tum ex verbis Domini, tum ex rebus ipsis, si nempe haustus aquae frigidae cum iure bibendi ex flumine vitae conferatur (quod gratis donari S. Sanctus testatur, Apoc. xxi.* 6 *et xxii.* 17) *mercedem non ex dignitate operis, aut operantis, sed ex liberalitate donantis assignari.*

Secunda dubitatio tua oritur ex eo quod Calvinus (ut ais) in suis Institutionibus asserit, opera nostra damnabilia et peccata mortalia

semper. Hoc ita simpliciter a Calvino positum non reperio, sed ita: quicquid a iustis optimum proferri potest, aliqua tamen semper carnis impuritate respersum et corruptum esse, et tanquam aliquid aeris admixtum habere, et si in se censeatur, iustam opprobrii mercedem mereri: nullum unquam extitisse pii hominis opus, quod si severo Dei iudicio examinaretur, non esset damnabile. *Haec Calvini placita sunt; et, quod puto me tibi olim ostendisse, Augustini, cuius illa vox est:* vae etiam laudabili hominum vitae, si remota misericordia Dei discutias eam. *Quid, quod Iobi cap. ix.* 28., *xxx.* 31, 32; *Davidis psal. xxxii.* 2 *et cxliii.* 2; *Esaiae lxiv.* 6; *Danielis ix.* 18; *Pauli Phil. iv.* 9? *Haec tu sanctorum, haec oracula S. Sancti considera per otium et confer inter se. Ego ad ea pergo quae supersunt in epistula tua. Addis eundem Calvinum asserere nos sola fide salvari, ex quo tibi sequi videtur, nos per peccatum mortale iustificari. Hoc etiam quod Calvino imponis, nos sola fide salvari, vix credo apud eum reperiri; nam utcunque apostolum dicentem meminerit,* gratia estis servati per fidem, non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur, *Eph. ii.* 8, 9: *non tamen nesciebat, ab eodem apostolo dictum,* spe salvi facti sumus, *Rom. viii.* 24: *et alibi,* non ex operibus iustitiae quae fecimus nos, sed secundum misericordiam suam salvos nos fecit, per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis S. Sancti, *Tit. iii.* 5; *et a Iacobo,* Quid proderit, fratres mei, si fidem quis dicat se habere, opera autem non habeat, nunquid poterit fides salvare eum? *Iac. ii.* 14. *Non puto Calvinum latuisse haec, sed nec, non aequipollere, 'sola fide iustificamur' et 'sola fide salvamur'; verum illud hic premis, quod videtur consequens ex dictis Calvini: 'nos per peccatum mortale iustificari, quoniam fides opus est nostrum, operatio nempe intellectus.' Primum non in eo tibi assentior, quod fides quae iustificat sit opus sive operatio intellectus. Informis quidem illa (quam scholastici vocant) fides, qualis est daemonum, est in intellectu: sed formata, quam describit Augustinus,* credendo Deum amare, credendo in Deum ire, credendo ei adhaerere et in eius membris incorporari, *non est intellectus operatio, sed cordis et voluntatis, atque per hanc iustificatur impius, non tamen prout est opus sive operatio nostra, sed prout est instrumentum Christum apprehendens, per quem adhaeremus Deo. Apertius dicam. Non quia illa fides nos facit usquequaque perfectos, sanctos, iustos, dignos amore Dei, sed quia accipit et amplectitur Christum, qui a Deo factus est nobis iustitia, in eum credentes iusti censemur, non fidei nostrae opere: haec fides in eum recumbit, ei adhaeret; ideo per eam fidem iustificamur, hoc est pro iustis in iudicio Dei censemur. Neque vero hic actus est peccatum mortale, nunquam hoc Calvino venit in mentem; est enim ipsa condicio novi foederis:* crede in Dominum Iesum Christum et salvus eris *Act. xvi.* 31. *Sed si ex lege et semota gratia discuteretur, non usquequaque responderet illi regulae;* diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde, animo, viribus, *ut gratia et misericordia divina semper opus sit, sicut ait apostolus:* gratia salvi facti estis per

these Irish converts herein, he gave them preferment according to their several respective capacities: to some he gave livings *cum cura animarum;* some he made curates, schoolmasters, parish clerks, &c. Amongst other converts there was a learned fryar called Daniel O'Creane, upon whom the bishop bestowed a good living; there not being one Protestant in all the parish, he did much good, and did turn many away from iniquity. He married a daughter of captain Perkins, and did not fall away upon the rebellion, as many did, but stood out against all violence and spoil and terror, and escaped to Dublin naked and bare; and the first money that God sent him, he laid out for an English Bible (as I did see) in Mr Bladen's shop, when he had no place where to lay his head, nor reliefe for his body. Yea I did not hear nor know of any that were converted and promoted f. 68 v°.

fidem. Aliud est affirmare simpliciter, aliud ex hypothesi. Auferam hinc vestrorum invidiam et nostrorum interpretamentorum fidicula(?). Hoc dicit Calvinus ad summam: 'opera nostra quantumlibet perfecta, impura et damnabilia fore, si ex lege Dei semota misericordia aestimarentur: in novo foedere gratia divina nos fide ut instrumento iustificari, cuius actus, si ex vetere foedere operum examinaretur, esset aliqua circumstantia vitiosus.' Haec vero tibi ad difficultates istas expendendas et expediendas eo fusius rescripsi, quod magni momenti sit ista quaestio de iustificatione, et in qua cardo totius salutis nostrae vertitur, insuper paratus, si opus erit, si quis adhuc restet alicubi scrupulus, aut in hac controversia aut aliis, operam navare. Quod superest, Dominum oro ut det tibi intellectum in omnibus; eius gratiae te ex animo commendo.

Tuus in Christo,

Guil. Kilmorensis.

Kilmorae Iulii 26°, 1636.

To my loving brother Mr Cohonaght O'Sheridin
deliver these.

This learned epistle had the desired effect, which many such like had; and the party reclaymed by God's blessing became a zealous convert. To encourage. 3. curates to aged and weake ministers. 6. had bestowed. 7—9. in the whole parish. He marryed a daughter of captain Perkins, and did much good, and did turne many away from popish iniquity, and did not. 10. many hypocrites and false converts did. stood out manfully. 11. Dublin at length. 14. body, but elemosinary.

by my L. K. to any ecclesiastical function, that turned apostats and persecutors, save one Patrick Brady a minister; one of the first murderers that appeared in the day of our calamity.

60. Now when this indulgence to the Irish natives in preferring and encouraging of them to the ministry was noised abroad, the bishop was sorely checked by some statesmen, as if he had acted contrary to the English interest and policy in making the Irish capable of preferment in church or state, which was the portion of the conquerors, not of the conquered and enslaved natives. The bishop said, *It was an ill principle of policy to keep the Irish still in ignorance, which would be bitterness in the later end; and* that *it was far better policy, to bring them to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, which would please God far better, and prove a greater security for the present and for the future against all attempts founded upon ignorance and blind obedience. And being sent to seek the things of Jesus Christ, he esteemed this to belong to his care, to cooperate with Christ in bringing his people out of the Romish captivity. And if to help away a poor captive out of Turky hath been honourable to some publick ministers; what shall it be to help many thousand souls out of the bondage of men's traditions, and gaining to his majestie so many entire subjects?* as he expresseth in his exhortation to the lord deputy. Howsoever

15. know nor hear. 1. lord of Kilmore. 2. persecutors of the Christians. P. Brady. 4. calamity; who afterwards received the wages of his apostacy, being slaine in his sinne by our forces at Butler's bridge in the parish of Cavan, whose minister's goods he had plundered the very first day of the rebellion, neer that place where he fell. Now when this indulgence of my lord of Kilmore. 7. was secretly checkt. 8. only had. 9. policy all this while, by his endeavouring to make the conquered and enslaved Irish. church and state. 11. conquered and depressed Irish natives, which no man did ever so much as once attempt before his lordship. He said. 12. policy and carnal interest. still hoodwincked. 13. latter. 13—4. it would proove farr. 14. policy and advance the English interest more then ever heerafter, to bring the Irish to the saving. 17. hostile attempts. founded meerly. 18. that being. 21. *away* om. 22. should. help to the encouraging of many thousands out. 25. deputy in his

his reply did not please them, more than their speech did him; though ere long they found the sad effects of it, to the loss of themselves, as well as of their interest and policy: One of them looked down stedfastly with derision upon his feet, and being asked *why he did so?* said, that *he was seeing whether my L. of K. wore broges or no;* thus jearing his Christian affection and compassion towards the poor Irish; whom no man sought after as he did whose feet were shod f. 69 r°. with the preparation of the gospel of peace, and thereby made so beautifull upon the Irish mountains, in bringing good tidings of good things and publishing salvation unto them by the Scriptures to be read and understood in their own language.

61. For the more vigorous and effectual carrying on of all those pious and honourable overtures and intentions, he resolves upon the translation of the O. T. into Irish: the N. T. being before translated by D. Donelin, archbishop of Tuam; and the Common Prayer-book also, and both printed by sir William Usher at the bridge foot of Dublin. He communicates this his purpose to many persons of quality in church and state; and by their advice (that is to say of D. Usher primate of Armagh, D. Martin b. of Meath, my lord Dillon, one of the privy council, sir James Ware, sir Morris Eustace, sir William Usher, and others) there was one Murtach King, or O'Kinga, an Irish

excellent sermon upon Rev. xviii. 4. However. 1. no more. 2. long the wisest of them found. 3. their earthly interest and carnall policy, which prooved to us like that wisdome that discendeth not from above, as St. James speaks, cap. iii. 15. One proud and graceless P., that endeavoured to doe as much hurt and mischeefe as this servant of God studdied to do good in his tyme and place, looked down. 5. my lord of Kilmore's feete. 6. lord of Kilmore wore brogues. prophanely jeiring. 8. that no. 12. holy Scriptures. 13. language, as you shall heare. 15. all these. 16 Old Testament. 17. New Testament. *before* om. Dr. 18—19. Twam in the province of Munster (whose brother, judge Donelin, was a worthy statesman and loved my lord of Kilmore much upon that account of his desire of the salvation of the Irish), the Common Prayer-book also being printed in Irish by. 20. this his purpose with. 21. the advice of the princes of the Irish nation, that is. 22. Dr. (bis). 23. bishop. 25. there is. *or O'Kinga* om.

native, commended unto him for this noble enterprise; who was fully master of that language, both in prose and meeter, by the testimony and approbation of all that knew him. He had a good estate in the King's county (I have been in his house) and was a convert in K. James his time. My L. of K. sent for him, publickly examined him in all points of the Christian faith in the cathedral church of K.; and though he had no academick accomplishments, yet was found fit to do good above many that had these additionalls to little purpose. He ordeined him, and conferred upon him the living of Templeport for his accessory mainteinance in this great affair; and so set him a work with prayer and supplication to God, the Author of the Scriptures, for a blessing upon his labours; confining him to turn the last translation of the English Bible (read in all churches) into the plainest Irish, most understood of the vulgar.

62. And surely it was a work agreeable to the mind of God, that the poor Irish, being a very numerous nation, besides the greater half of Scotland, and all those islands called Hebrides, that lie in the Irish sea, and many of the Orcades also that speak Irish, should be enabled to search the Scriptures (as others) that in them they might find the way that leads to everlasting life, which they could never do whiles the Scriptures remained a sealed book to them. This brings
f. 69 v°. to my mind a passage of Fulgentio, (a great divine) preaching at St Mark's in Venice against the pope, before the prince and senate, upon these words of Christ to the Jews, Matth. xxi. 42. *Have yee never read? When Christ* (saith

1. his noble. 4. county, with his wife and family. 5. house). He was. 5—6. king James' tyme, having beene a priest formerly, as Hiram of Tyre was imployed by Solomon about all the Temple work, though a heathen before. My lord of Kilmore. 7. Kilmore. 9. have. additionall ornaments. 10. him, being about seventy years of age; he conferred upon him the benefice. 12. *set...work* follows *labours* l. 14 in H. 14. *turn* om.(?) 16. and most. 16—17. vulgar. It beeing as agreeable to the mynde of God, that the poor blind Irish should search...to them (as in the text 21—24), being.. nation, that speake Irish, besides. 19. Scotland, specially the northerne parts, and all. 20. *called Hebrides* follows *sea* in H. 21. *that...Irish* om. 25. *a great divine* om. 26. *against the pope* om. 27. senate, against the pope Paul the fifth, in

he) *shall ask you this question at the great day, Have yee never read in the Scriptures? What must we all answer? Even this; No, Lord,* perche non sia permesso, *for we were never permitted to read them.* This I had from my lord, that heard it spoken with great zeal and fervency of spirit in the time of the interdict. Therefore this good work was begun, continued and ended to the glory of God, and the whole O. T. with the Apocriphal books translated into pure Irish, without any interruption or noise of hammer, as in the building of the first temple. But the translator afterwards was exceedingly troubled, and my lord of K. also for undertaking his just defence, as you shall hear.

63. That my lord might carry on this great work with the greater judgement, lest it might seem strange to any, that he should shew himself so eager in adventuring upon a work that no man did before him, as to translate the Scriptures of the O. T. into a language that he understood not; for the preventing of this objection, he gave himself as earnestly to learn the Irish tongue in Kilmore, where his calling lay, as he had done formerly to learn the Italian, when his calling lay in Venice; and he esteemed himself as much (if not more) concerned in this, as in that; and indeed he made a progress beyond all expectation in a very short time; in so much that he became a critick in the Irish tongue, and wrote a completer Irish grammar than was extant before him, and delighted so much in the acquisition of that tongue, that every Lord's day, at one of the clock in

the tyme of the interdict, upon. *to the Jews* om. 2. *in the Scriptures* om. 3. Lord *quia non sic* (?) *permisso* (?) 4. read the Scriptures, but prohibited the use of them under highest penaltyes. I received from my lord of Kilmore. 5—6. spirit, with much more of that nature against keeping the people in blindness, without the knowledge of the Scriptures, which thing alone pearched the pope and his followers to that height of dominion to which they have arrived. Therefore this. 7. God, without...temple (as in text 9—10). 8 and 17. Old Testament. 11. *was* om. Kilmore for. 12. defence, as I shall also shew you. 18. which objection. 20. Italian tongue. 27. tongue (though he could never speake it, but read it, write it and translate it into English, as Hierome in his old age learned the Chaldean tongue so that he could *legere et intellegere, sed non*

the afternoon, he had the book of Common Prayer read in the Irish tongue in the church of K. for the benefit of those that he had brought from popery, but understood not the English tongue (and a deacon, one Owen O'Sheridene was the reader) at which he was constantly present himself. And for the fitting of the copy of the translation for the press, he never rose from the table after dinner and supper till he had examined a sheet and compared it with the original Hebrew and the 72 interpreters, together with Diodati
f. 70 r°. his Italian translation (which he prized very much). His manner was this: his son Ambrose did usually read a chapter in English, my lord having one copy of the Irish translation and A. C. another; after this he read the first verse out of Irish into Latin, and A. C. the next, and so to the end; and where was found any mistake of the English phrase or emphasis by the Irish translator, my lord did immediately correct it. Now these things begot a great interest in the Irish nation, as if he had been the first and only man that ever God sent into Ireland to seek their national good, their spiritual and eternal wellfare.

64. But what good thing did ever escape the opposition of wicked men, or the scourge of the tongue? It grieved some Jesuited persons exceedingly, that there was a man come to seek the wellfare of that captive people: and they began to frame false surmises and rase sinister reports of the work itself, as well as of Murtach King the principal translator. As if they had put on the zeal of Saul against the Gibeonites, or of Sanballat and Tobiah against the Jews, they incense the E. of Strafford the L. lieutenant against the work, and what they could not effect by him, they endeavour by the archbishop of Canterbury; whose letters to the lord

s onare, as he speaks, ep.) that every. 2. Kilmore. 6. better fitting. Irish translation. 7. or supper. 9. interpreters, or Diodati. 13. [i.e. Alexander Clogy]. 14. the second, and so. 16. *Irish* om. 17. it in his coppy, and A. C. in his. 19. sent out of England to seek. 20. yea, their. well-fare, and began to preferr him before St. Patrick, and call him their patron and patriarch. But. 22. tongue, that was attempted by angells or good men? It greeved. 24—5. and began. 28. proselyte Gibeonites. returned Jews. 29. the lord livetenant, the earl of Strafford.

lieutenant they procure to that purpose, that he might cause the work to cease (that was made fit for the press and come to the birth, the stamps being sent for to Holland, and all things made ready for the carrying on so good a work meerly upon his own charge), and to my L. of K. also to the same end and purpose.

65. They informed against Mr King, the translator, that he was a person so inconsiderable in the world &c. that nothing of his could be worthy of publick use in the church of God, and some such other things; whereupon they suborn a bold and ambitious young man (that occasioned these surmizes in others) to pretend a lapse to the K. of his living of Templeport, who obteined it under the broad seal, came down, and took violent possession. For it was usual in those daies for any presumptuous or worthless person to beg any minister's living, that was aged or sick or had a good parsonage, and to procure the broad seal; and then the fraudulent intruder and the incumbent to strive for it, or make a shamfull composition. Yea sometimes when the person injured did present himself before the court of judicature, it was scarse believed that he was alive, his living having been bestowed *ecclesia plena*. This I am occasioned to mention in this place, because it was a scandalous part of the iniquity of those times, which crushed the poor aged translator after all his holy labours in that blessed work, and was sadly be- f. 70 v°.
moaned, as an injurious usurpation over bishops and others,

1. they might. 3. into Holland. 4. made now ready. 5. my lord's owne charge and at his owne house). lord of Kilmore. 7. informe. 8. is a person. 9. can be. 11. with others occasioned those surmizes. 12. king. 13. Templeport, and obtaines. scale, and comes posting downe from Dublin and takes. 16. sickly. 17. then the possessor *malae fidei*, the fraudulent. 21. alive (but some *spectrum* in his name), whose living was bestowed *ecclesia plena*, as David did rashly confer Mephibosheth's living upon Ziba by false information (2 Sam. xvi. 4), and then at last by right information it came to this issue: *I have said it, Thou and Ziba divide the land* (2 Sam. xix. 29), as if ministers only had less secular right to their livings then other men. This I am. 23. place as not the least *inter centum gravamina Hiberniae*, because it was an ordinary and scandalous. 25. work (to bring in that other sheepe, that were not as yet of Christ's fold, that

as well as over our translator and the bishop his patron, who had invested him in his living according to the laws of God and of the land.

66. At this ungodly act my L. of K. was so startled (who did not use to fear shadows) that he summon'd the intruder to appear in his episcopal court at Cavan, and charged him to relinquish his unjust intrusion into another man's right, seeing he was otherwise also obnoxious; for the bishop had conferred him the parish of Dyn, and had sworn him to personal residence and that he should not hold any other living with it: and yet contrary to his solemn oath he marches up to the prerogative office, and for a little money gets a dispensation from that most sacred obligation and a faculty to retain as many livings as he could catch: all which vile practices the b. of K. hated with a perfect hatred. And therefore finding him stiff and obstinate to persist in his abominable iniquity, he excommunicated him after several canonical admonitions, and caused the excommunication to be published throughout the whole deanry, and deprived him of that living, which he justly held, as well as of those into which he had unjustly intruded himself. Hereupon the delinquent appeal'd to the prerogative court, and cited the bishop to answer; which he readily did in his own defence and in the defence of the translator. But what audience and justice he found there in so just a cause, you may be amazed to hear, but shall evidently see in the 24 articles of his recu-

they might hear his voyce, that in Ireland there might be one sheepfold and one shep-hard) and was sadly. 2. that had. into. 4. which ungodly. lord of Kilmore is. 5. that did not feare. summons. 6. at his. charges. 7. minister's. 9. conferred upon. Dyne. 11. it; but contrary. solemn and sacred. 12. money to the clerkes he procures and obtaines a mock-dispensation. 13. of his oath, and a faculty. 14. could enclose and catch in his net: all. 15. my lord of Kilmore. 17—18. iniquity, after several canonicall admonitions he excommunicates him, and causeth. 19. deprives. 20. held by my lord's collation, as. 21. most unjustly. Whereupon. 22. appeales. cites. 23. doth. 25. just and good. 26. heare (for it was openly said, that *so worthy and grave a prelate would have found, if not for his sacred profession and station, yet for the venerable majesty of his person, more respect*

sation, penned and delivered with his own hand into that court; which are as followeth:

67. *Recusatio 24 articulorum episcopi Kilmorensis.*

Coram vobis, venerabilibus viris Georgio Ryves legum doctore et Gulielmo Hilton artium magistro, reverendissimi in Christo patris Jacobi provid. D. archiepiscopi Armachani, totius Hiberniae primatis, nec non iudicis, praesidis sive commissarii curiae regiae Praerogativae pro causis ecclesiasticis et ad facultates in et per totum regnum Hiberniae regia auctoritate legitime constituti, substitutis sive surrogatis, ut vulgo creditur; Ego, Gulielmus Kilmorens. episcopus, cum debita vobis reverentia propono; Quod licet antehac exceptionem quandam declinatoriam iurisdictionis vestrae in quadam praetensa causa duplicis querelae mota a Gulielmo Baily clerico dioeceseos Kilm. iustis de causis interposuerim, ac nominatim propter incompetentiam fori per absentiam reverendissimi f. 71 r° *praesidis et suspicionem animi vestri in me iniqui, quas etiam coram eodem reverendissimo praeside aliisve aequis arbitris probandas in me recepi; ac licet etiam pro parte mea venerabilem virum Edwardum Parry S. T. professorem elegerim ac nominaverim; vos tamen dictae recusationi meae hactenus non modo deferre recusastis, sed novis insuper et pluribus indiciis animum vestrum mihi infensum prodidistis; Ea propter ego episcopus antedictus animo non prorogandi, sed expressius et particularius contra iurisdictionem et personas vestras excipiendi, dico et allego.*

1. *In primis quod praetensa querela Gulielmi Baily oritur ex sententia quadam in causa correctionis ex officio meo episcopali et iussu illustrissimi proregis; in qua si modum excesserim, legitima appellatio erat ad synodum provinciae vel consistorium archiepiscopale.*

2. *Quod dictus Baily a sententia praedicta iudicialiter et viva voce appellavit; unde servato ordine iurisdictionum ex*

from the janessarys of the great Turk); and this you shall. 1. in that court with his own hand. 6. providentia divina Armachani archiepiscopi. 11 and 15. Kilmorensis. 20. sacrae theologiae. 21. *hactenus* om.

decreto nuperae synodi Dublinensis causae cognitio, omisso intermedio archiepiscopali consistorio, devolvi non potuit ad hanc curiam.

3. *Quod firmamentum defensionis dicti Baily nititur facultate quadam ab hac curia concessa; cum vero nemo sit idoneus iudex in propria causa, satis inverecunde vos hic ingeritis.*

4. *Quod regiae maiestati cognitio abusivarum facultatum in ipsa lege reservatur expressis verbis; ut hoc forum vestrum, a quo eiusmodi facultates emanant, huic rei incompetens sit.*

5. *Quod sub nomine reverendissimi primatis Armachani delitescentes tenorem commissionis vestrae non inseritis citationibus vestris; ut nesciatur, nedum quod aut quatenus vobis commissum sit, sed an omnino ab ipso subrogati sitis.*

6. *Quod iurisdictione vestra non fundata, illud satis scitur, homines vere laicos in episcopos ex executione episcopalis officii nullam habere potestatem.*

7. *Quod litem vestram facitis, dum in citatione vestra narratis a me gesta in praeiudicium iurisdictionis curiae regiae praerogativae et ad facultates cedere eiusque contemptum; ex quo constat (fatente actore) hanc causam ad commodum et honorem vestrum spectare.*

8. *Quod ut quoquo modo processum vestrum defendatis, fingitis causam esse duplicis querelae, cum nulla sit hic mutua petitio, aut reconventio, aut querela, nisi simplex tantum.*

f. 71 v°. 9. *Quod nimium favorem et propensitatem ad partem dicti Gulielmi Baily ostenditis, cum eum probum et discretum virum appellatis, causa nondum discussa; cum accusatorem episcopi sui canones ecclesiastici nec laudandum nec facile audiendum et, nisi causam probaverit, infamem haberi volunt.*

10. *Quod causa nondum audita, in ea pronuntiastis, dum dictum Baily vicarium de Dyn appellatis, qua tamen vicaria se a me spoliatum conqueritur.*

11. *Quod vetus mihi litigium est vobiscum super institutionibus (quas haec curia usurpat), ex quo in admissione Nicolai Bernard ad vicariam de Kildromferton protestationem interposui; quam tu, Gulielme Hilton, indigne tulisti, eaque*

2. *consistorio* om. (?) 13. noscatur. 23. quoque. 26. ac. 27. disertum. 32. Dyne.

non obstante et illum et multos alios instituisti, reclamantibus episcopis; quo nomine eiero, iniqui estis, non mihi tantum, sed aeque omnibus.

12. *Quod cum nuper de prima citatione vestra conquestus essem apud illustrissimum praesidem, in qua maiestas laesa videbatur, vos ea de causa haud dissimulanter iratos habui.*

13. *Quod comparentem ex ea citatione ad tribunal vestrum expectare et per sesquihoram inambulare, tanquam ex infima plebecula, coegistis.*

14. *Quod cum proximo die iuridico a vobis dimissus essem sub hac formula, quod me non moraremini, quod nihil haberetis mihi obiciendum; tu tamen, Gulielme Hilton, post paulo praedixisti futurum ut denuo citarer, ex quo consiliorum communicationem cum dicto Baily prodidisti.*

15. *Quod cum ea citatio minus succederet, perperam facta sub nomine episcopi Lismorensis, tu idem, Gulielme Hilton, actorem admonuisti, ut de integro inciperet.*

16. *Quod cum tertio citatus recusationem quandam iurisdictionis vestrae opposuissem, propter incompetentiam et suspicionem, quarum causas paratus eram coram arbitris ostendere; vos eam non admisistis, ut oportuit, sed in proximum diem iuridicum super ea deliberastis.*

17. *Quod quarto citatum ad audiendum voluntatem vestram super recusatione praedicta, cum cerneretis ad tribunal vestrum appropinquantem, surrexistis ilico et quanquam nec auditorio egressi eratis nec praeco populum missum fecisset, nec hora effluxerat, renuistis me episcopum antedictum comparentem audire, ut haberetis aliquem colorem me contumacem pronuntiandi.*

18. *Quod cum proximo die iuridico comparuissem et* f. 72 r°. *contumaciam mihi falso impositam purgassem, et iterata praedicta recusatione arbitrum probationis pro parte mea reverendum virum Edwardum Parry S. T. professorem nominassem, vos haec admittere recusastis, sed me ad libellum accipiendum et procuratorem constituendum adigere voluistis.*

19. *Quod in acta curiae referri curastis me non compa-*

2. nomine ergo iniqui. 15. cum secunda citatio. 33. sacrae theologiae.

ruisse, et in iisdem narratis tamen me praesentem admonitum fuisse de comparendo de die in diem usque ad finem litis; in altero imperite, in altero inepte, in utroque (salva reverentia vobis debita) iniuste.

20. *Quod sigillum officii curiae regiae praerogativae et ad facultates dispensationibus circa pluralitatem beneficiorum et residentiam temerariis profusis et interdum legi divinae repugnantibus apponitis.*

21. *Quod episcoporum iurisdictionem, et ordinariam, et excitatam a supremo magistratu, impedire, ipsos ad tribunal vestrum pertrahere, vexare, vilipendere, non veremini.*

22. *Quod eorum iura episcopalia in institutionibus notorie usurpastis.*

23. *Quod rescripta conceditis, in quibus multa quoad sensum inepta, quoad verba incongrua, continentur; quibus ideo de iure nulla fides adhibenda sit; cuius modi sunt, quae sub sigillo vestro in hac causa emanarunt.*

24. *Quod nuper in hac eadem causa sigillum vestrum litteris, in quibus regia maiestas laesa fuerit, apponebatur minus discrete, ne quid gravius dicam: iudex autem indiscretus, quoad recusationem, iniquo aequiparatur.*

> *Has ob causas, quas omnes aut earum plurimas ego episcopus antedictus coram aequis arbitris verificare paratus sum (adeoque reverendum virum Edwardum Parry S. T. doctorem ex parte mea nomino), vestrum tribunal, absente reverendo praeside, vestrasque personas, tanquam mihi merito in hac causa suspectas, declino et recuso ad quemcunque iuris effectum.*

Dublini A.D. 1638.

68. By the tenor of this large and learned recusation you see what a defence this worthy bishop made, which all the members of that court could not enervate; and that it

3. *imperite* and *inepte* transposed. 8. appenditis. 19. [note in Tanner MS. on *regia* 'regio nostro nomine']. 29. An. Dom. 31. yow may cleirly see this righteous man bold as a lyon, this apostolicall bishop wrestling against the princes of the darknes

was deservedly said, *Solus Kilmorensis novit se gerere ut episcopum*, (which was in all the good prelates' mouthes). He alone had the ingenuity and courage to be the advocate for them all: you see two lay-surrogates, (Ryves and Hilton) substituted by the famous D. Usher, to trample one of the best of prelates and of men under their feet, and he never concerned himself in the least to deliver the oppressed: but this was not all; when the adversary, that was so active to dash so good a work, could not satisfy his lusts on the good f. 72 v°. bishop, he brought the translator into the high-commission-court; and how he was there used, ye may see by a letter written by my L. of K. to the E. of Strafford the L. lieutenant about this matter; which is *verbatim* as followeth:

of this world, against spirituall wickednes in high places, and therefore undoubtedly furnished with the whole armour of God to stand his ground. The iniquity he found in his own courts (which he endeavoured to put farr from his tabernacle) he that runns may read in those superiour courts. You see what a just defence. 31. makes. 32. their court. enervate (it being of a higher straine than their vulgar brayne could reach), and of what litle esteeme true worth and excellency of spirit is amongst disingenuous, ignoble and unworthy persons, that are viler than the earth they tread upon. And as it was truly said to the king by sir Henry Wotton, that *there was not such a man to be found in all his majesty's dominions etc.*, so *solus*. 2. *which* om. was now again in all good. who alone. 3. courage to stand in the breach and become advocate. 4. all, though none of them clave unto him. Here you see how two pitifull lay-surrogates. 5. that were substituted. Dr Usher (into whose hand the king had committed the jewel of his royall prerogative over all persons and causes ecclesiasticall), do trample the best. 6. feete (as in this particular), and he. 7. oppressed, or to open his mouth in judgement, or to stay the fury of the malignant oppressour, or once to say to them, as old Ely said to his sonnes and surrogates: *Why do ye such things? for I heare of your evil doings by all this people: nay, my sonnes, for it is no good report that I heare;* till the ark of God is violently snatchd from their shoulders by the bloody Philistins, with their lives also and of many thowsands besides for their impietys; which suddenly after this became our dolorous case also and upon the very like account. But this is not all: since the adversary. 8. was stirred up and was so bold and active. 9. work, as the translation of the Bible into Irish. lust. 10. bishop, he proceedes further in his malice: he brings. 11. is. you shall see in. 12. lord of Kilmore. Earl. Lord.

69. *Right honorable my very good lord; That which I have sometimes done willingly, I do now necessarily, to make my address to your honour by writing. My unfitness for conversation heretofore hath pleaded for me; and now your lordship's infirmity allows, and in a sort enforces it. The occasion is not my love of contention (which I have committed to God) or any other matter of profit, but God's honor, and (as he is witness) your's. I have lately received letters from my lord of Canterbury, whereby I perceive his grace is informed, that Mr King, whom I employed to translate the Bible into Irish, is a man so ignorant, that the translation cannot be worthy publique use in the church; and besides obnoxious, so as the church can receive no credit from any thing that is his. And his grace adds, that he is so well acquainted with your lordship's disposition, that he assures himself you would not have given away his living, had you not seen just cause for it. I account myself bound to satisfy his grace herein; and desire, if I may be so happy, to do it by satisfying you. I subscribe to his grace's assured persuasion that your lordship, had you not conceived Mr King to be such as he writes, would not have given away his living; But, my lord, the greatest, wisest and justest men do and must take many things upon the information of others, who themselves are men, and may sometimes out of weakness or some other cause, be deceived. Touching Mr King's silliness (which it concerns me the more to clear him of, that I be not accounted silly myself), I beseech your lordship to take information, not by men that never saw him till yesterday, but by the ancient, either church or statesmen of this kingdom, in whose eyes he hath lived these many years; as are the lord primate, the bishop of Meath, the lord Dillon, sir James Ware, and the like. I doubt not but your lordship shall understand, that there is no such danger, that the translation should be unworthy because he did it, being a man of that known sufficiency for the Irish especially, either in prose or verse, as few are his matches in the kingdom. And shortly, not to argue by conjecture and divination, let the*

1. *very* om. 12. *church of God.* 18. *do subscribe.* 25. *sesliness.* 26. *seely.* 27. *by them.*

work itself speak, yea let it be examined rigoroso examine: *if it be found approveable, let it not suffer disgrace from the small boast of the workman; but let him rather (as old Sopho-* f. 73 r°.
cles accused of dotage) be absolved for the sufficiency of the work. Touching his being obnoxious, it is true that there is a scandalous information put in against him in the high-commission-court by his despoiler, Mr Baily (as my lord of Derry told him in my hearing he was), and by an excommunicate despoiler, as myself, before the execution of any sentence, declared him in the court to be. And Mr King being cited to answer, and not appearing (as by law he was not bound), was taken pro confesso, *deprived of his ministry and living, and fined* £100, *decreed to be attached and imprisoned. His adversary, Mr Baily, before he was sentenced, purchased a new dispensation to hold his benefice, and was the very next day after (as appears by the date of the institution) both presented in the king's title (though the benefice be of my collation) and instituted by my lord primate's vicar; shortly after inducted by an archdeacon of another diocese. And within a few daies he brought down an attachment, and delivered Mr King to the pursuivant. He was haled by the head and feet to horseback, and brought to Dublin, where he hath been kept and continued under arrest these* 4 *or* 5 *monthes, and hath not been suffered to purge his supposed contempt by oath and witnesses, that by reason of his sickness he was hindred, whereby he was brought to death's door, and could not appear and prosecute his defence, and that by the cunning of his adversary he was circumvented and secured; entreating that he might be restored to liberty, and his cause into the former estate. But it hath not availed him. My reverend colleagues of the high commission do some of them pity his case; others say, the sentence past cannot be reversed, lest the credit of the court be intacked. They bid him simply submit himself and acknowledge his sentence just; whereas the bishops of Rome themselves, after most formal proceeding, do grant* restitutionem in integrum *and acknowledge that* sententia Romanae sedis potest in melius

3. *it rather.* 4. *absolved from.* 12, 13. *living, fined a* £100. 16. *of the instruments.* 17. *although.* 24. *contumacy.* 28. **and secured om.** 33. *his censure.*

commutari. *My lord, if I understand what is right, divine or human, these be wrongs upon wrongs, which if they reached only to Mr King's person, were of less consideration. But when through his side that great work of the translation of God's book, so necessary for both his majestie's kingdoms, is mortally wounded; pardon me, I beseech your lordship, if I be sensible of it. I omitt to consider what feast our adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that service, or what this*
73 r°. *example will avail to the alluring of others to conformity. What should your lordship have gained, if he had died (as it was allmost a miracle he did not) under arrest, and had been at once deprived of living, liberty and life? God hath reprieved him and given your lordship means upon right information to remedy with one word all inconveniences. For conclusion (good my lord) give me leave a little to apply the parable of Nathan to K. David to this purpose. If the wayfaring man that is come to us (for such he is, having never yet been setled in one place) have so sharp a stomack, that he must be provided for with plurality, sith there are heards and flocks plenty, suffer him not, I beseech you, under the colour of the king's name to take the casset ewe of a poor man to satisfy his ravenous appetite. So I beseech the heavenly Physitian to give your lordship health of soul and body, and rest,*

Dec. 1, 1638.

My lord,

Your lordship's most humble

servant in Christ Jesu,

W. KILMORENS.

70. By this pious and prudent letter you see what opposition the great work of the translation of the Bible met withall, *Hoc Ithacus velit;* and that surely the hand of Joab was in all this, I mean the heart and hand of the Jesuite; when that which ought to have been the duty of all our deputies and prelates (being seriously minded onely by one)

8. *what the.* 10. *had gained.* 16. *king.* 19. *for by pluralityes.* 25. my lord om. 28. William. 29. prudent and pious. 30. Bible into Irish. 32. was there in all this transaction.

is thus slighted, if not opposed by all, that were well contented to leave the poor Irish in Egyptian darkness, out of which nothing can deliver them but the light of the Scriptures that delivered us; which to them are yet a sealed book. This iniquity amongst many others was preparatory to the rebellion, that followed soon after.

71. In the mean time the b. of K. slipps no opportunity of doing them good; his heart's desire and prayer to God for the Irish, being the same with the apostle's for Israel, that *they might be saved.* But untill he could compass the work of printing, which he intended speedily to effectuate in his own house, at his own charge, he caused some of Leo's and Chrysostom's homilies to be translated into Irish: namely the 3 first upon Dives and Lazarus, which are allmost alltogether spent in the highest commendations of the Scriptures, that any rhetorical expressions can reach; and these with his little Irish catechism he sent abroad amongst them: which the Irish fryars and priests themselves professed they delighted to read.

72. He was zealous for God, not only in his own sphere, to propagate the truth; but also to work reconciliation amongst the reformed churches abroad. In order whereunto f. 74 r°. he allowed Mr Dury, that undertook that negotiation £20 *per annum,* which were duly received for him by Mr Hartlib; who also printed some of his letters, of the matter and manner of evangelical union, worthy to be seen and read of all that are lovers of truth and peace. In so much that when the Lutherans of Dublin were cited to the archbishop's consistory for refusing sacramental communion with our church,

2. darkness still. 3. of Scriptures. 6. soone after; and we being farr from England (the spring of our welfare under God) could finde no remedy against these prevayling evills or hope of redresse; which hid God's face from us, till the flood came that swept us all away. In the meane. 7. bishop of Kilmore. 9—10. Irish, that they might be saved, being the same with the apostle of us gentills, *that Israel might be saved.* 12. causeth. 15. commendation. 18. them, one page English, the other Irish, which. 23. he kept correspondence with Mr John Dury...negotiation, and allowed him £20. 24. received by Mr Hartlib at London. 26. which are worthy. 27. peace; which (God willing) I mynde to set downe heirafter

and they desired some respite of time, that they might consult their teachers in Germany where they were bred; because they did believe that Christ was otherwise present in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, than our church did hold and teach; and therefore could not come with a good conscience to participate of that ordinance with us, *salva doctrina et fide Lutherana.* And when the letters came, that had in them all that the Lutherans could say in that point, and the good old archbishop of Dublin, Dr Buckley, was at a stand and knew not what to make of such a learned piece; he, with the advice of many learned and unlearned men, sent D. Parry, then preacher at St Patrick's, with these letters to the bishop of Kilmore, with earnest entreaty for the truth's sake and credit of our church, to answer them: which he did with that learning, conviction and success, that when his letters were received in Germany, they were commended and delighted in; so that the Lutheran divines sent letters immediately to all their friends and countreymen in Dublin, to require them not to refuse communion with our church any longer, but to join with us in that, and in all other Gospel-ordinances; which they did ever after without scruple. Dr Parry had all those papers, and it were fit they should be enquired after, and published for after-generations.

73. His discretion and moderation was so well known to all men, as if the Lord had been visibly at his hand, assisting him in his waies, as well as resisting others in their

by themselves, because they are long and written in Latin. I remember when. 1. *and* om. tyme, till they might acquaint. 2. bred, that they might have their advice; because. 7. *And* om. letters were brought, that. 9, 10. old bishop Buckley (that was reported to have preached but one sermon in many yeares, upon that text, *Nolite tangere unctos meos*, 'touch not myne anoynted,' which once a year he commonly read in Christ's Church upon the king's day before the state; the three points being known long before into which he branched his text; *unctos meos*, sayth the pope; *unctos meos*, sayth the people; and *unctos meos*, saith God) was at. 11 therefore he. 12. Dr. Patrick's in Dublin. 15. them speedily. learning, piety. 17. were so highly. *so* om. 21. that sacrament and. 22. heerafter. Now Dr. these. 25. moderation and discretion. 27—p. 147 1. him in all his straight wayes. For when.

waies. For when Adeir, bishop of Killala in the province of Connaght, was accused, condemned, deprived of his bishoprick, fined and confined at once by the high-commission-court, he would have no hand in it, though he were a member of that court. The occasion was this: in the height of the Scottish covenant, amongst many worthy and learned men (as ever that nation bred) there was one Mr Corbet a minister driven out; who comming to Dublin and printing some pamphlet against the Scottish violent proceedings, was cried up and brought into favour with the bishop of Derry f. 74 v°. and the lord deputy. They understanding that there was a living lately vacated in the diocese of Killala, sent him thither. But his reception with the bishop (being of that nation) was so unpleasing to him, that he conceived great indignation against him. For the bishop had told him (after the Scottish manner of jesting) that *he was a corby-messenger*, alluding to his name, Corby signifying a raven; and that *it was an ill bird that defiled his own nest* (alluding to his book, called *Lysimachus Nicanor*, which he had pen'd in gall or bloud against his own countreymen the Scotts). And whereas he said in his book, that *himself had hardly escaped with his life; but he had left his wife behind, to try the Scotch humanity;* the bishop should say, *he had left his wife to a base office*, and some such other stuff as this, which M. C. gathered up carefully and brought with him to Dublin, and delivered all in full tale to those that sent him. They being incensed thus against the bishop cited him by a pursuivant

2. accused, arraygned and condemned, fined and confined and deprived of his bishoprick at once. 4. he had no. sate a member. 6. covenant, *anno* 1639. 8. minister of the west of Scotland. out for refusing subscription to a violent and bloody imposition. Dublin for refuge, and. 9. *violent* om. 10. with B— D—, and by him with the lord lieutenant, the earl of Strafford; who, understanding. 13. thither. Now whether the living did belong to the bishop's collation or no, I dare not positively say, being above fortye years agoe, though it was reported so to be. His reception. also of. 18. did defyle its. 19. he adjudged him to have penned. 20—1. and that he. 21. that he hardly. 22. *he* om. behind him. Scotts.' 24. *other* om. Mr. 26—p. 148 1. him (with several aggravations, which being mustred up together and rancked in severall articles, at the first sight overthrew

to appear immediately at Dublin, to answer at the high-commission-court to those things that were alledged against him by M. C.

74. He was allready condemned before he came near them, and his bishoprick designed for (as it was afterwards given to) M. J. Maxwell, sometimes bishop of Ross in Scotland, whence he was excluded. When the sentence was given against him, and all that had spoken before the bishop of K. had with one consent condemned him, and it came to his turn to speak his judgement, he first took the articles into his hand, that were alleadged against him, and read them over, and fetch't the beginning of his speech from the description and qualification of a bishop set down by Paul to Timothy and Titus, and said, that *he could not find by all these articles, that the bishop of Killala (there present) was guilty of any spiritual enormity, contrary to these apostolical qualifications; or that he is accused of any error in life or doctrine or discipline, which may make a bishop censurable &c.* And so he went on with such deliberate and weighty demonstrations of truth, and quotations of canons of the Greek and Latin church in like cases, that they that had spoken before him were ashamed, having taken their rise no higher than from those light expressions; as if they had proceeded from a heart complying rather with the Scottish
f. 75 r°. proceedings, than with the episcopal constitution in Ireland. Those that spake after him were more moderate; yet there being none but he that durst openly profess for him, the poor old bishop was cast and deprived and imprisoned (and

the bishop); who being incensed against him with great indignation by his adversary's information, cite him and by a pursevant send for him immediately to appeare at. 3—4. Mr C. being already. was come near unto them. 5. for, and afterwards. 6. Mr John. 8. against this bishop and. 9. Kilmore. 10. takes. 11. reades. 12. fetches. 14. sayes. can. 15. those. is. 19. goes. 20—21. truth from the records that are extant of the Greeke and Latin church in such like case of censure of a bishop, that those that. 23. higher, but insisted only upon those pitifull expressions. 24. Scottish irregularityes, then. 25. their episcopall. Ireland, which is accounted there as ancient as their Christianity. And those. 27. *but he* om. him, but this Micaiah. 28. old, dunny bishop is cast. 28—p. 149 3.

remained so long after) and another possessed his bishoprick immediately.

75. But he had little joy in it; for within a year or two at most, he was strip'd naked, sore wounded and left among the dead by the rebells. Yet by the special hand of God his life was preserved as Job's, and he came as soon as his wounds were healed to Dublin, and preached every Lord's day in some church or other; whom my L. of Ormond (as many others) did delight much to hear. He went afterwards to the king to Oxford, and returned again *incognito*. He was one day after dinner found dead in his study, having heard some sad news from England of the king's defeate.

76. But what becomes of this poor, deprived and imprisoned bishop at last? I will tell you. One of his grand-jury-men, that was fiercest against him, was one D. Adderton, sometimes preacher at St John's in Dublin, but then bishop of Waterford. This prelate was by the just judgement of God accused, arraigned and condemned for iniquities farr above all that is left upon record concerning Sodom; and executed in the publick place of shamefull death; the Irish-popish-sherif Walsh insulting over him and rejoicing that his tree did bear him such desired fruit; adding that *he*

imprisoned, and another possesses his bishoprick immediately, that had litle. 4. is. 5. rebells in that place. Yet. 6. preserved (by the earl of Twamond). and his lyfe that went downe from Hierusalem to Jerico and fell among theeves, that robbed him of his rayment and wounded him and departed leaving him halfe-dead. For the earl of Twamond, like the kind Samaritan, tooke care of him, and, as soone as his wounds were healed, he came to Dublin. 8. lord. 9. heare, for he was a great preacher. 10. *incognito*. I heard him say, that *the king never understood rightly what kinde of people the Irish rebells were, that had such an innate hatred against the people of God, till he told him*. He was after dinner. 11. studdy, after some. 12. defeate, *anno* 1643. But this deprived bishop Adeir remayned not long in prison, and I giving him a visit, he told me these words: that *there was none that opened their mouthes in his defence but my most worthy bishop; and yet there was none in the court that said a word against what my bishop had spoken for him*. But. 14. you breifly. 15. Dr. 17. prelate is about that very nick of time by. 18. God, who sees not as man sees. 20. ignominiously executed. 21 Welsh. 22. desireable. *adding that* om.

hoped ere long to have it bear more of the same kind; to the great scandal of religion. But D. Bernard, his confessor, believed that God gave him repentance unto life, and preached a good sermon at his funeral, which he printed and called *The penitent death of a wofull sinner.* When he was condemned, he sent for the bishop of K. but he was gone from Dublin homewards, and so saw him not. His poor wife went for England to petition for the £800 (her portion) which a great courtier had received for procuring that promotion for her husband. And at the same time the bishop of Killala, that was cast out of his bishoprick and deprived of his episcopal dignity for inconsiderable trifles, made his address unto the K. by petition, and had the bishoprick of Waterford granted unto him; which he possessed, till Waterford was taken by rebells.

f. 75 v°. 77. On the 26 day of March 1638, it pleased God to visit his dear consort Mrs Bedell with a lethargy (of which she died), who for humility, vertue and godliness was inferior to none of her sex, and in her conjugal relation superior to

1. *have some more of the same kind from it;* to. 2. religion amongst the professed enemies of it. But. Dr. 6. Kilmore. 7. homeward. 9. was reported to have received. tragicall promotion. 11. was thought by all sober people to have been cast. and degraded from his. 13. to the king by petition in the hand of sir Robert Stewart, that had been instrumentall in his former advancement, and had. 14. him; unto which preeminency in the church he had not beene so suddenly advanced again after his dejection and degradation, if he had beene found under any originall guilt in his former station; which bishoprick he possessed. 15. by the rebells in '41. There was another of the same order and a leading man, if not the sole actor, against the bishop of Kilalla, that was reported to be guilty of such fowle crimes as brought the bishop of Waterford to a shamefull end, and was arraigned also for them, and the like condemnation was expected at the next session of parliament, they being accounted brethren in will by common report and sir George Ratcliffe equally active against them both. He desyred the bishop of Kilmore to be bayle for him; but he refused it and left him to his owne iniquity, that it might be found out to be abominable, to stand or fall to his owne master. But the rebellion gave him the benefit of absolution, and the restauration in 1660 additionall promotion. On the 26th. 17. my lord of Kilmore's. 18. that for. 19. sex or age.

most. It is recorded of Sarah for her commendation to all posterity, that she once called her husband Abraham *lord:* but Mrs B. was never heard to speak of her husband, nor to him, but she called him, *my lord;* and never came into his presence before any persons, but with as respectfull reverence as to an honorable stranger. My lord preached at her funeral (upon these words, of Eccl. vii. 1. *A good name is better than precious ointment &c.*) with that moderation of affection, and yet just commendation of her worth, that there were few drie eyes in the church all the while. Happy were all Adam's posterity, if they were so equally yoked! He buried her in the remotest part of the south side of the church-yard of the cathedral of Kilmore, that she might rest in her grave till the resurrection: for having observed such thronging and crouding of dead bodies into a small patch of ground in church and chancel, and the casting up the bones of the dead, often before their flesh was returned to the dust, sometimes to the annoiance of the living, and allwaies to the disquieting of the dead, before they hear the voice of Christ to awaken them; and that meerly out of ignorance, pride or superstition: his judgement was therefore alltogether against burial in churches, and he made a canon against it, as you may see in his *acta synodalia.* He gave (as in all other things) a good example in choosing this place of burial, where he intended to be laid himself, when the will of God should be.

78. Because you may desire perhaps to know his judge-

1. most. Her adorning and dress was not that outward, but the hidden man of the hart, in things not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price, as of old tyme the holy women that trusted in God adorned themselves. It is. 2. Abraham her husband. 3. Bedel. of him nor. 4 *she* om. 5. persons whatsoever. as much. 6. any honourable. lord himselfe. 8. *than good ointment;* and. 12. yoked! I never saw the least jarr or distaste betweene them in word or deed, in all the space of these yeares that I lived with them. He. 14. resurrection; observing. 16. and casting. 17. flesh returne to. 19. *allwaies to the* om. disquieting the dead, till they. 21. his judgement was therefore. 23. *synodalia*, p. 41. 25. buriall (where none was layd before, save his sonne John) where. 27. *may* om.

ment about the publick liturgy of the church of England, as his way of publique ministration; I am persuaded that no man could hear nor read (which he often did) the Common Prayer with greater reverence and holy affection than he did in his own cathedral every Lord's day, and other appointed daies by act of parliament; and that with the most strickt observation of whatsoever is enjoined in the rubricks,
f. 76 r°. without the least addition or diminution. In so much that when a curate of another parish was upon the Lord's day in the forenoon reading the prayers of the day before him in his cathedral, and began to add something of his own to the short prayers of the book; after the bishop had observed him to do so once or twice, he rose hastily out of his seat and went to the reader's piew, and snatch't the book out of the curate's hand, and pushing him from thence, said these words in the audience of all the people: *Be suspended from your office, till you learn to read the prayers better;* and so went on to read all the rest himself. It was his custom usually upon the Lord's day to preach both forenoon and afternoon, upon those select portions of Scripture commonly called the epistles and gospells for the day, and to catechize the younger sort before the afternoon-sermon.

79. He followed no man's custom nor example, but the rule; and in special he ordered, that the whole doxology to the blessed Trinity, *Glory be to the Father &c.* should be allwaies said by the minister alone; so the *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, &c. The psalms in the Bible, that is commanded to be read in all churches, he approved much above those of the Common Prayer, which leave out all the titles, though they are of the Holy Ghost as much as the rest of the psalm, and have often the sum and substance of the whole psalm in them, and in many particu-

2. and his. 3. Common Prayer-Booke. 12. after that the. 13. arose. 16. *Be yow.* 19. dayes. morning. 21. gospels of the. 22. afternoon's. 26. alone, without the respond of the people; and the psalmes, as well as the other Scriptures, to be read by the minister alone; so. 27. of the. 29. above that of the Common-Prayers, which leaves. 30. titles, which are. 31. psalme (wherefore St Jerome calls *titulos claves*), and have. 1. shamefully differ from.

lars differ much from the original, as being translated out of the vulgar Latin in the infancy and minority of the reformation. The communion-table was placed by him, not at the east end, but in the body of the chancel; without steps of gradual ascension or circumvallation by railes, though custom had prevailed otherwise in most churches; and all was read in one place. And for other innovations elswhere introduced, he observed them not, as bowing at the name of Jesus, bowing to the communion-table and towards the east, and such like; his judgement being (as D. Bernard well observes) that *those were as well nonconformists who added of their own, as those who came short of what was enjoined; as he that adds an inch to the measure disowns it for a rule, as well as he that cuts an inch off.* He came often to church in his episcopal habiliments, but oftner without. The ministring habits of his clergy he looked upon as academick distinctions of degrees. He desired no instrumental musick in his cathedral (as organ or the like), but vocal and spiritual

2. Latin and in the very. 3. reformation &c. 4. without any stepps. 5. though the. 6. churches. There was no part of the servise read at the communion-table (save on a sacrament day), but in the usuall reading-desk, that all the congregation might heare and see. And for. 8. word or name Jesus. 10. like all founded upon ignorance and superstition; his. Dr. 14. *off.* His entrance into the house of God. which is the church of the living God, was not like that of the heathenish *aedituus* into his idol's temple, nor the approachings of the Romish priest unto his popish altar, that, when he pronounceth these words, *introibo ad altare Dei*, by various gesticulations gives dulian worship to all the petty idolls in his way, till at length he arrives at the altar, where the dreadfull crucifix stands before him and the conjuring pix, where the fatidick hoste lies enshryned; and then, like Balam's ass, falls downe flatt before it, as if he saw with her what her master, the prestigious enchanter, did not: but his entrance was grave and reverent, without any incurvation, genuflection, orientall adoration or topicall veneration; so his attention, as his intention, was holy and reverent and examplary, whether hearer or speaker, from the beginning to the end of God's worship and service, both in publick and private, at all tymes and in all places alike; all thinges being done still according to the apostle's rule in order and to edification. He came. 15. without, in the afternoone especially. The. 17. of scholastick degrees, rather then ecclesiasticall and evangelicall qualifications for the ministery. He. 18. organs. like) no more then in other parochiall

singing with grace in the heart to the Lord. He was much
f. 76 v°. displeased with the pompous service at Christ's church in Dublin, which was attended and celebrated with all manner of instrumental musick, as organs, sackbutts, cornets, violls, &c., as if it had been at the dedication of Nebuchadnezar's golden image in the plain of Dura; and discovered his dislike of those things (now in the time of the Gospel) to a leading prelate, who told him only this, that *they served much to the raising of the affections, &c.* To whom he replied, that *all things that are used to work upon the affections ought to tend to edification under the Gospel, as this did not.*

80. He was a carefull observer of the Lord's day, both in publick and in private in his family, according to the morality of it (which he did constantly assert and maintain). For, besides his preaching and catechizing, in which he had a singular faculty above many, he repeated the sermons before or after supper, sung a psalm, and concluded the day (as he had begun it ere he went to church) with prayer. His manner of preaching was esteemed most edifying. For first he did alwaies open the meaning and sense of the words of the H. Ghost out of the original, whether they were few or many, and then raise divine observations from them, and make a lively application of them to the

churches, but. 1. Lord. He never went about to set up a qweere of quyristers, of singing men or singing women. The psalms of David were his delight, in privat and in publick. He was much dissatisfyed with. 2. service of Christ's. 7. tymes. 9. affection. 16. faculty and delight. sermon. 18. day with prayer. church. He did rule his owne house so well, that he was the fitter to rule the house of God. 20. always shew the connexion, and open the sense and meaning. 21. Holy. 23. and powerfull application. 155 1. auditory, concluding still with prayer. He affected not high straines of rhetorick to amuse the hearer; his words were easy to be understood as Paul's. I have heard him say these words in the pulpit after his entrance upon the text: *I beseech the Lord to guide my tongue, that I may, as I desyre, rather be His instrument to further the inward profit in these holy mysterys, than seeke to please the eares with a fyled speech and floorish of words. No, ye shall not looke for it at my hand, if I could afford it; litle would I care for delighting; if I may teach and moove, I desyre to be no better a rhetorician*, &c. And in his exhortations to his clergy at his visitation and synods: *Let the vaine*

auditory. As he did thus sanctify the Lord's day at home (not allowing visiting, much less sporting or gaming in any place of his diocese), so did he also take care to walk with God every day.

81. In spending the day he regarded three things; the beginning, continuing and ending of it. He prayed thrice every day in his family, as Daniel did. In the morning as soon as he was dressed (and commonly he was first up), he rung a little bell that lay in a window in a readiness to call his people together, and then read the psalms of the day in the Hebrew psalter (which he allwaies carried about him from a child) to himself alone; unless his son (that was minister of Kinally at the head of Lochearn) were present, or some other Hebreician, and then his manner was to read one verse out of the Hebrew into Latin, and the person present the other, to the end. Then he went to his study; and when the cloath was laid for dinner, he prayed the second time; and so likewise after supper: using allwaies the same form of prayer, which he used before sermon on the Lord's day.

82. The Common Prayer was never used in his family by himself, nor any body else: for he esteem'd that an ecclesiastick and publick, not a domestick and private way of worship. And thus he did all the daies of his life,

froth of humane knowledge, and the garnisht and painted bewty of the entysing eloquence of man's wisdome give place; preach me Christ crucifyed; know nothing but Him; put Him before the eyes of God's people; glory in nothing but Him, &c. Though his stature was tall, his voyce was low and mournfull, both in praying and preaching, but to the attentive eare very audible and powerfull, with such evidence and demonstration of God's spirit, that the pious hearer wisht every word were penned that he uttered in the pulpit, in that heavenly order and method in which it was delivered. He preached upon all those Scriptures that are in the Common Prayer Booke, which are parts of God's service, and ought therefore to be familiar and well-understood of the people by the very frequency of them, as he was wont to say. He left most excellent sermons upon them all. As he. 4. day, like another Enoch. In spending. 6. *and* om. every day thrice. 8. up, and rung. 11. in his Hebrew. 17. dinner, kneeling downe at the head of the table he. 20. day, always concluding with the Lord's prayer, the people saying after him. 22. for esteeming that. 23. and not. 24. worship. He did thus all.

f. 77 r°. having due and religious respect to the church liturgy in its own place. He never rose from dinner or supper till a chapter was read at his table and some time spent by him in opening some difficulties in it, whatsoever company were there, whether protestants or papists; each person having a Bible laid before him, himself either the Hebrew or the new Irish translation, &c. He was his own domestick chaplain: no man ever prayed in his house but himself, when at home; nor craved a blessing at his table besides himself: whereas in many prelats' houses all these duties are cast upon the chaplain, as in the families of secular lords. He took an account of himself, how he spent every day, by keeping a journal thereof; a thing that imports more than it can merchants for their estate to keep their day-book: a Christian must study his own book, and so did he.

83. He had sometimes sad fitts of the stone for some years before his death (as many great students of a sedentary life have); which yet he did endure with a great deal of patience. The greatest antidote against it, which he found by experience to do him most good, was digging in his garden. In a morning (laying aside his gown) he would dig for half an houre or thereabouts; and being a little heated, he found mitigation of his pain and help to his stomach both in craving and digesting. Upon which account Calvin is said to be found digging in his garden, when one came to kill him; but he had no heart to do it, finding him so emploied.

1. due and sacred respect. 2. place, that it was designed for. 3. chapter of God's booke was. 5. were present there. 6. had. Hebrew or Greeke or. 7. new manuscript of the. 8. his family but. 9. blessing or gave thanks at. 10. those. 15. and as a. 16. *and* om. he daily. 17. stone (though otherwyse of great strength and health of body above many) a few years. 19—20. a wonderfull patience. 25. stomach in. 26. garden at Geneva. 27. one was sent. *he* om. 28. so harmelessly imployed. He had brought with him out of Italy such curious instruments for racemation, engraffing and inoculating, that I saw him once teach his gardner how to use them, and when he put in the graft into the stock most neatly, only tye it about with a seare cloth, &c. Lovers of vertue

84. His understanding and judgement in things divine was so great, that did you see that trunk of MSS. that he left behind him, some in Latin, some in Italian, (in both which he did excell) and many in English; you would conclude, he had kept correspondence with most of the divines in Christendom about all points of controverted divinity and imposed ceremony. There was a MS. of his writing containing 50 sheets of paper, in answer to two questions propounded to him in England by one that called himselfe then Paul Washington a priest, but came after to Dublin under the name of Paul Harris. The first Q. was, *Where was your church before Luther?* The second: *What do ye think became of our fathers before the reformation?* My lord primate of Armagh, D. Usher, was very earnest with him to have published his answer to those questions: which had he lived, he had done; but what is become of it I know not, since all his books and papers came into the rebells' hands, who to be sure would give no quarter to that piece.

85. I remember that when D. Usher the primate (that loved him above all of that order) had given him his *Immanuel* (a holy and learned treatise concerning the mystery of the incarnation of the Son of God, which the primate had presented to the E. of Strafford the lord deputy for a new year's gift), the bishop of K. told his grace, that *the phrase* A woman shall compass a man, Jer. xxxi. 22, *mentioned pag.* 5 *of that noble tract, was not spoken by the prophet, nor meant of Christ, but was only a metaphorical allusion to God's former gracious dealings with the people of* f. 77 v°.

will take no exception at ingenuity in any person whatsoever. Cyrus is said to glory in trees of his owne planting, more then in all that he found sett before him. His understanding. 5. that he. the most of the famous divines of. 10, 11. *but...Harris* om. 11. question. 12. *our.* 13. *reformation?* old questions that have beene often answered. This popish fellow came afterwards to Dublin, and priested there under the name of Paul Harris, and was a very troublesome fellow. My. 14 and 20. Dr. 15. published it, which. 18. hands, that would give litle. 21. of his order. 24. Earl. 25. gift and now is bound up with his large body of divinity. Kilmore. 27. prophet, as he thought, nor,

Israel, whom he had long wooed and courted (as it were) from the land of Egypt to that day, with many loving-kindnesses and tender mercies, as Ezek. xvi. doth allegorically set it forth: But now the Lord will create a new thing in the earth; a woman shall compass a man, '*mulier ambibit virum*'; *they shall begin to seek after the Lord in a most serious manner (as the Gentiles shall), as He formerly sought after them according to the phrase, Hos. iii.* 5: Afterwards shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God and David their king, and shall fear the Lord and His goodness in the later daies; *and chap. ii.* 16: Thou shalt call me *Ishi* (*i. my dear and loving Husband*) and shalt call me no more *Baali, i.e. Lord and Master; and verse* 7: Then shall she say, I will go and return to my first Husband, for then was it better with me then now, &c. And within 5 or 6 lines in the same verse speaking of Christ, he hath this expression: That *Christ was the immediate fruit of the womb, and not of the loins.* But the bishop of K. affirmed that *Christ was the fruit of the loins as properly as the fruit of the womb, as being descended from the loins of His progenitors, and properly the seed of the woman Gen. iii.* 15; *the seed of Abraham Heb. ii.* 16; *and made of the seed of David according to the flesh Rom. i.* 3; *in the womb of the B. V. that was of the house and lineage of David Luc. i.* 27; *otherwise Christ had not been of the stock nor the son of David.* My lord primate approved his judgement in both these particulars with a great deal of humility and ingenuity and thanks; which are peculiar to ingenuous and gracious spirits of the highest attainments.

6. *virum (ecclesia Christum Sponsum); they.* 12. *i.e.* 13. verse 7: Thou shalt say. 15. it was. 16. lines of the same page. Christ, is this. 17. that He was. 18. *But* om. Kilmore. 20. *of all His.* 22. *ii.* 16. *was made.* 23. *Rom. i.* 3 om. *blessed Virgin.* 25. *David*, &c. 27. humility, ingenuity. 29. attainments. He was orthodox and sound in the fayth once given to the saints. He did hate vain thoughts (with David), but did love God's law. The conclusion of a letter of his to Dr Samuel Warde, head of Sidney colledge in Cambridge (betweene whom and him many letters past in England, Italy and Ireland) doth evidence this: *I am sory that Arminianisme findes such favour in the Low Countreys and among*

86. His humility was the highest ornament of all his other gifts and graces. And this appear'd in his gate and

ourselves, and glad that my lord of Sarum (whom I truly love and honour) came off so well in the busines of his sermon. And of another letter to Dr Richardson, bishop of Ardagh, in these words: *For Pelagianisme, Semi-Pelagianisme, Arminianisme (to all which I say anathema), if in your owne judgement yow do absolve me from such not only worthless but wicked opinions, do not, I beseech yow, by accumulating testimonies against them* (the controversy betweene them being about 'the efficiency of grace,' which yow may see in due tyme) *rayse a suspition in the mindes of those, to whose hands soever these papers do come, that my lips speake wickednes and my tongue uttereth deceit, that secretly at least I nourish such monsters, to the quelling of which your labour is intended. So that with all thanks for your love and good opinion (which I am desirous to retayne and answer with the like) I commend you to the grace of God and the peace, which now and evermore, according to the apostle's rule, be moderator in our harts and keep them in Jesus Christ. Amen.* His humility was his. 1. ornament and splendor. 2. graces; having well observed that general charge of the apostle: *Let the same mind be in yow that was in Jesus Christ;* which appeared as well in his countenance, apparell, gate, gesture, words and deeds, as in his hart and mynde; in which, as an Israelite indeed, there was no guyle, as our Lord sayd of Nathaniel. One memorable passage of his humility I had almost forgot, but that a person of honor and of greatest learning and authority in the church helped me to it. It was this: at a visitation in the remotest part of his diocesse, neer Manner-Hamilton, sir Frederick Hamilton invited him after sermon to dinner with much earnestness; but my lord of Kilmore having thanked him for his respects, told him *he was resolved to dyne with his clergy, and would wait upon him afterwards;* but although the place was meane where they were to dyne, at a poore inne, and the provision course and homely, yet he was contented to stay with them, then feast without them. When afterwards he was approaching to the gates of this knight's house, the gates that stood open before were suddenly dasht together and shut up. He and those with him wondering what the matter meant, he stood knocking a pretty while, and none would answer. Those that were with him desired his lordship to come away and not to take this base effront; but he walked up and downe before the gate a good while (above a quarter of an hour) and said only this to his servants and those with him: *They will heare ere long.* At length the gates that were bolted with pride, by humility are unlockt and flee open, and out comes this proud Sir, and with a hypocriticall hart embraces his lordship and brings him into his house and with many complementall and fawning expressions intertaines him, where he abode a very short space. He never met with such a peece of uncivility

deportment amongst men, in his apparel, in his converse and house-keeping. When others of his order were either
f. 78 r°. galloping in their coaches, or prancing upon their stone-horses through the streetes of Dublin in parliament time; he was never seen in a coach in city or countrey, nor on horsback in the city, but walking with his servant after him; save when he rode in his scarlet-robes to parliament, or attended the lord deputy to church on the Lord's day, as the manner of all the prelates was, in their pontificalls, with all the temporal lords. His habit was grave, a long stuff-gown, not costly, but comely: his converse was pleasant and profitable to all sorts that had to do with him: his castle furnished with things necessary, not superfluous nor gaudy; his table with plenty of good provision at all times, whereunto there was great resort. At Christmas he had the poor Irish to feast and sit about him, both men and women that dwelt next unto him, that scarse had any whole cloathes on their backs, or could understand a word

amongst the civilized papists in Italy, nor the barbarous papists in Ireland, but had a honorable reception wheresoever he came, as an angel of God. His deportment amongst men of all sorts and converse with them was not light and complementall, verbose, morose and frothy, alwayes more prone and ready to heare what others said, then to vent his owne judgement in anything, unless it were seriously desired: he let few of his words fall to the ground, like another Samuel. This putts me in mynde of what the archbishop of Cashil told me of him, that being at the earl of Strafford's table with many others of the clergy, one sayd: *We are all talking, but my lord of Kilmore sayth nothing*; to whom Dr Usher, the lord primate, sayd: *Broach him, and yow will finde good liquor in him.* So the party asked him some question about fayth, wherin the bishop of Kilmore so puzld him, that all fell a-laughing, saving himselfe. And no man did aske him any more questions. When others. 3. vaporing stone-horses. 6. a-horseback. 7. rode *paludatus* in his. in parliament. 8. upon. 9. all prelates. 10. in a long. 11. comely; his stockins woollen; his shoes not much higher behind than before: his converse pleasant. 12. all those that. 13. thinges not superfluous, ornamentall and splendid, but good and necessary for common use: his table. 15. resort, as to a place of greatest hospitality in all that county, halfe an Irish beefe a-weeke, besides other provision, a great part whereof was given to poore Irish familyes. 16. Irish, as well as the rich Brittish (like another Nehemiah) to sit and feast. 18. nor.

of English: and often the blessing of those that were ready to perish came upon him, and he made the widow's heart to sing for joy.

87. Though he did allwaies triumph in Christ, who made manifest the savour of his knowledge by him in every place, without making merchandise of the word of God (as many do), yet he did never stretch himself beyond his line (*ἀλλότρια ἐπισκοπεῖν*) to take upon him the performance of any ministerial or episcopal duty in another's diocese without licence first had and obteined. And therefore when his wive's daughter, Leah, was to be married in Dublin to Alex. Cloghy, minister of Cavan (the author of this life), and they desired the marriage might be blessed by him; for his better defence against malevolent tongues, that it might be with the approbation of the archbishop of Dublin, he wrote to D. Parry for a licence out of the consistory, Nov. 23, 1637.

88. As my lord primate had engraven on his episcopal seal *Vae mihi, nisi evangelizavero;* so the bishop of K. had it engraven upon his heart, with this motto on his seal הסיר מני כל בדילי *haser minni col bedili,* Is. i. 25, 'take away all my tin,' over a flaming crucible or refining pot; alluding piously and humbly unto the Hebr. word *bedil* (that coms so near his surname), which signifies 'tin;' whereas his good name was like good ointment that did perfume the air of report, and himself like the man whom God hath said *He will make more precious than fine gold, even such a man, than the golden wedges of Ophir.* Is. xiii. 12. *Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.*

89. As he was holy and humble, just and merciful above many, so he was wise and valiant, stout and couragious for the truth. The righteous are bold as a lion: he feared no

1. English, and were strangers to such civill and plentifull entertainment, and often. 3. joy, like another Job. 4. ch. 87 is inserted in H after ch. 90. 6. cauponizing or making. 7. lyne, as the apostle speakes. 11. Leah, his wyve's daughter. A. C. the minister. 12. *the author...life* om. 14. by the. 16. Dr. 18. Kilmore. 19. it written on his hart with the finger of God, with this. 20. *Is. i.* 25 om. away from me all. 22. piously and humbly alluding. Hebrew. sounds. 24. like that good. 25. report, in which it now lyes embalmed. 27. wedge. *Is. xiii.* 12. om.

f. 78 v°. *Non vultus instantis tyranni mente quatit solida.*

man's greatness; he feared no man's wickedness. His greatest foes were those of his own house, I mean some false brethren of his own order, that bred him all his stirr; yet he never shrunk from keeping faith and a good conscience. His saying was often, *Fiat iustitia, et ruat caelum.*

90. When a minister came unto him for a licence for four monthes liberty, to give a visit to his friends in Scotland; together with the licence he gave him an Irish New Testament (to carry with him into those parts where the Irish tongue was used) upon which he wrote these words, *Gulielmus Episcopus Kilmorensis,* and said: *certe me non pudet huius cognominis:* which he might very well say, being esteemed one of the greatest ornaments of that order. His licence began thus: *Gulielmus providentia divina Kilm. episcopus A. B. dilecto nobis in Christo fratri et synpresbytero salutem &c.:* which when it was shown to Mr John Adamson, primare of the colledge of Edinburrough, in the company of many ministers that had been great sticklers for the Scottish covenant and active in driving them out of their bishopricks; they were amazed at his Latin style (though it were but 5 or 6 lines) and that antiquated phrase of *fratri* and *synpresbytero:* but when they heard with great delight the description of him (according to this paper), they said with one mouth: *What have we done? If the king will give us such bishops as this, we will beg them upon our knees of him and receive them with all our hearts.* A. B. said unto them again: *Be ye yourselves such, and questionless the king will advance you in the room of those that you have so furiously driven out.* Or as D. Bernard (that was his dean)

2. marg. n. om. 3. order (that entered not in by the doore into the sheepfold, as he did, but did climb up another way), that bred him all his hurt, because their owne works were evill and his good, like another Habel; yet he. 4. conscience in the sight of God and of all men. His. 13. order, since its advancement above its fellows. His. 15. *mihi.* 16. shewed. Adamson, provost. 19, 20. driving out their bishops, they. 21. lines upon a bitt of parchment) and. 26. *and receive them* om. 28. into. 29. *out.* He further said unto them: *Your bishops were learned men, great and constant preachers in all places of their residence amongst yow; they exercised no jurisdiction over yow nor over the people; kept no consistory courts by lay-chancellours to enslave yow; had no power of ordination any*

more then any other minister in that classis or presbytery where their episcopall seate was; they were only presidents in your synods, which ye have twise a yeir in course; they never received penny of money for presentation, institution, induction or visitation or any orders whatsoever, nor any from or for them; they know of no procurations nor synodalls from the clergy, no more than the apostolick church did; they did you much good in parliament; they often rescued your persons and tithes out of the pawes of your lords and layrds, that otherwyse had beene too hard for yow, &c. *And yet ye have delt with them in a rage that reacheth up to heaven, and with all that tooke their part in church and state, in city and countrey,* &c. All that they did reply was this: that *they had introduced a new forme of publick worship amongst them, which was never knowne since the reformation, and that without a synod or generall assembly; and had urged and enforced it on a sudden (under the greatest penaltyes) to be received and practised;* and that *they were afrayed it would take them off from the simplicity of the Gospel and become a dead letter (as it was to many in England, that had nothing else to trust to, in many places, for the word of reconciliation in the ministration of the Gospel);* and that *they knew not what might follow, when so many offices for the dead saints were advanced upon holy dayes, which had not beene sounded in their eares above a hundred yeares and upwards. And the zeale of the common multitude of all sorts was vehement against it at the very first, like a mighty torrent and irresistible, that carryes all before it; which easily drew in the greater and better sort afterwards, though some might have other designes and projects before them (as in all such impetuous and tumultuous proceedings is unavoidable, when then [they?] are stript [?] with popularity and Christianity) about the bishops' lands, as they have gotten possession of almost all the crowne-lands since king James came into England:* and that *the reception of that booke and conformity to it would hardly make them better Christians or more loyall subjects, or contribute anything to the king's honour and profit or their wellfare,* &c. *'Quae nos Deo neque digniores neque indigniores possunt reddere,' sayth Augustin of ceremonys.* This was the sum of all they said. A. B. asked them: *But then why doe ye medle with England and Ireland, to promote your reformation by your covenant? since there is no countrey under heaven this day that stands in need of evangelicall, nay of civill reformation, more then the far greater part of your owne countrey, that hath not as yet heard the sound of the Gospel; as namely a great part of Argyle's country, Bodinoch, Lochabber, Knodard, Modard, Ferrindomill, Stranaver, most of all the isles of the Hebrides and Orcades, which are large territoryes, and many more then these of the most savage and barbarous Highlanders, that if at any time they come to hear a sermon (which is very seldom), they come in their armes, with theire swords and targetts, with their bowes and dorlachs (a rough goat's skin*

concludes his short character of him; *If the moderation of this bishop had been observ'd elsewhere, I believe episcopacy might have been kept upon his wheels.* For when he heard of the tumults of Scotland and the outrage against bishops, he said these words (which were uttered by Athanasius long before in a tumult at Alexandria between him and his clergy): *If for our sakes this great tempest is risen, take us up and cast us forth into the sea, that so there may be a calm, like another Jonas.*

Anno 1639.

with all the long hayre upon it), or quivers full of barbed arrowes (twenty or thirty arrowes a peece), or with a great long gun in his hand, a great powder-horne about his neck, and none without a durk or dagger (such as Ehud's) at his side, a short destroying weapon, if they fall out within doores or anywhere. Doth this array become Christians on the Lord's day? And a hundred to one but they shed some blood ere they part. To say nothing of their immodest and unseemly habit, and Irish, or rather Indian, manner of living and continuall spoyle and taking away the cattell of the civilized Scotts that live in the lowlands, without regard to the lawes of God or man. Is this forsooth the church of Scotland that men call 'the perfection of beauty?' Is this nothing to all you that pass by, or rather swallow downe, these Scottish camells, and sadly strayne at our English gnats? Doe not these things cry lowder in the ears of your presbitery, nay in the eares of God Himselfe (think ye) for reformation, or for wrath and vengeance, then a few English distinguishing-ceremonies, that no man putts any stress of religion upon, or would once think of them, if they were commanded off and cashired by that parliament authority that enjoynes them, as things merely indifferent, and not so much for spirituall as politick ends? To all this discourse Mr John Adamson said nothing materiall, only sighed and said: *The truth is, our first over-zealous reformers overthrew the churches;* and that *there was not a church in Scotland (save in some cityes and townes) but was erected within these fifty yeares;* and that *in Ardgyle and other places the great men held all the tithes and left the people to perish; for where there was neyther church nor maintenance, they could not expect the setting up of the Gospel of Christ's kingdome to bring in all that incultivate people out of the dungeon of darknes into his marvellous light, that had not the Scriptures in their own Irish language;* and so concluded his speach with the high commendation of that most worthy and renowned prelate Dr Bedel, bishop of Kilmore, and desyre of his long continuance and florishing in the church of God, that was so singular a bright starr, shining so eminently in it, and famous in his generation. As Dr Bernard.

1. him in these words. 3. its. 4. Scotland (in '39). the bishops in that hurrycane, he said 5—6. which...clergy, inserted after *Jonas* l. 9. 8. *forth* om.

91. Thus having given you some briefe account of his life, which was the life of the righteous, it remains that I give you some satisfaction about his later end, which was the death of the righteous, and therefore so precious in the sight of the Lord. To this the grand and horrid rebellion and massacre was antecedent and preparatory many waies. It began on Saturday the 23rd day of Octob. 1641, after a morning's mass. And here I confess I am at a stand what to write or how to express any thing of it without tears of f. 79r°. bloud, or a *quis talia fando?* or *quis cladem illius noctis?* or rather with Jeremiah, *Quis dabit capiti meo lymphas et oculis meis scaturiginem aquarum, ut defleam noctes atque dies confossos filiae populi mei?* Certainly had he been raised from the dead, he had seen before him as ample matter of writing a second book of Lamentations; onely with this material difference, that the people of God had warning from God and man of their approaching danger (as the people of Nineve also had, by which they might have prevented and avoided it) but we had none; no more than the cities that God overthrew, and no man pitch'd tents against them; as it was in the Sicilian vespers or the massacre of Paris A. 1572, by the same hand of Doëg. One daie's warning might have saved thousands of lives of poor innocents.

3. *some* om. latter end and death. 4. righteous also. *so* om. 5. of God, to which. horrid Irish rebellion. 6. and in many wayes preparatory; which began. 8. mass that bloody and unparallelled massacre commenced. confess my frailty. I am at a stand like a man astonished and like a man that wyne hath overcome, how to write or express. 9. of it, that is so beyond all expression (that was written in such large bloody characters in one instant, *tanquam signo dato*, through all parts of the kingdome of Ireland) without.. 10. *noctis?* (*ubique luctus, ubique gemitus et plurima mortis imago*) or rather. 12. *meis fontem aquarum.* 15. Lamentations in all the particulars thereof, as in his first for the desolation and destruction of God's people by the old Caldeans and Babilonians, that were but types and shadowes of the new, only. 18. *also* om. 19. it from the old, but we had none to rescue us from the new Babilonians, no more. 21. *it was in* om. Vespers and the. 22. *anno* 1573. Doeg the Edomite. 23. innocents that knew not the right hand from the left. That bloody harlot, the mistriss of witchcrafts, was so drunck with the blood of saints and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, that she made no

92. There were no people under heaven lived in a more flourishing state and condition for peace and plenty of all things desirable in this life; when on a sudden they were turned out of house and hold, and stript of all outward enjoiments and left naked and bare in the winter, and on the Sabbath-day put to flight, and yet had no place to flee to. The land that a little before was as the garden of Eden, was speedily turn'd into a desolate wilderness; *Horresco referens: atque animus meminisse horret, &c.* You will say, certeinly our sins were very great, that opened the bottomless pit against us, and brought in the frogs of Egypt upon us. Truly upon diligent search and inquisition into our waies the iniquity of Sodom might be found in Ireland; pride, fullness of bread and abundance of idleness in her and in her daughters; neither did she strengthen the heart or hand of the poor and needy Irish by using any means for their conversion and reduction from the error of their way; but rather indulging them by cursed tolerations in their abominable idolatries, barbarities and filthiness to their destruction (which proved ours also at the last).

Tantae calamitatis causa eadem, quae omnium, nimia felicitas.

discovery of her design, as Delilah did often to Sampson ere he lost his eye; but surprized us (whilest our watchmen and sentinells were buryed in sleep and security, or wrangling together and sadly falling out upon the main guard) with swift destruction by rapine, fire and sword, without the sound of a trumpet or alarum of war; destruction upon destruction was cryed; for the whole land was spoyled; suddenly were our tents spoyled, and our curtains in a moment! There were. 3. we were. 6. flight, that had. flee to for refuge. 7. was like the. 9. *quod animus.* *horret luctuque refugit.* We soone forgate prosperity when we fell into the hands of brutish men and skilfull to destroy. O the multitude of cryes that went up to heaven, that are joyned with the lowd cryes of the soules under the altar (Rev. vi. 9, 10)! Yow. 10. *very* om. 11. brought up the. us, the old barbarous Irish and the old degenerate English of the Pale. Truly sin and sin only hath a great influence upon the ruine of persons, countreys and kingdomes; and if God did not overlooke it sometymes, no person nor kingdome could stand one moment, as all persons and kingdomes do know by comfortable experience. And by diligent. 13. Ireland (as in the very letter of it it was found in some of our leading watchmen), with pride. 17. *conversion and* om. way, and conversion to Jesus Christ; but. 19. barbarity. 20. ours at last; when every. 3. fryars and of all orders of

93. In those daies every parish was allow'd a popish priest, every diocese a titular bishop, every city and county colledges and convents of Jesuites and fryars of Roman colonies of all orders; as if they had been kept up of purpose to plant England and Scotland with such strange slipps when time and opportunity should serve them, which they made no doubt was then comming. It hath been observ'd that wheresoever the Roman-paganish yoke came of old, and was received or submitted unto, it left still the ancient Roman civility in habit, life, laws, language and religion behind it; and so filing off the rudeness of the nations, made way to f. 79 v°. the present admission of, and chearfull submission to, the sweet and easy yoke of Jesus Christ. And is it not strange that in 600 years (and especially since the glorious reformation) nothing should be done for the poor Irish? Their being thus neglected and given over to vile affections and strong delusions, animates them once in 40 years to rebell and destroy all the English plantations. And though I be no prophet nor prophet's son, in that sense that Amos was; yet I have too much reason to believe, that about the expiring of 40 years after the late rebellion of 41, they will be as ready and every way fitted to rebell again, and to destroy all our labours, colonies and people, as ever they were, unless there be some more effectual course taken by the English policy to prevent it; all our victories over them hitherto

Roman colonies. 4. of set purpose. 7. doubt of. 7, 8. come. Whereas wheresoever. 13. *is...strange* om. 14. years (specially. 15. Irish, and these old ragged Gibeonites have no benefit by our plentifull and rich clothing under the Gospel of Christ's righteousnes, but given over. 17. *and* om. delusions and a reprobate sense, to animate. 18. plantations. Of all calamityes and darknesses the most fearfull is that of the mynde, and in the destination of the church produceth saddest effects, to make men reape whatsoever they sow, and to eate the fruit of their doings. And though. 19. yet, God having given me my lyfe for a prey, that hath beene in innumerable dangers and hazards, as a brand pluckt out of the burning, and delivered me from the mouth of the lyon, I have. 21. yeares (which is their constant Irish jubile, wherin they kill and take possession, till by a new conquest they are dispossessed) after the date '41. 22. *again* om. 24. by our. 25. it, then hitherto

being but like those of Hercules over the monster Hydra; when he cut off one head, two did spring up in the place of it. The saying of old Pontius, the prince of the Samnites, to his son (who having got his enemies the Romans into a pound *in furcis Caudinis*, dismissed them) is very remarkable; *Turpis victoria, quae nec facit amicos, nec tollit inimicos;* none of our English victories have ever yet diminished our Irish enemies, nor made them our friends to this day. Oliver Cromwell the usurper transplanted the heads of the rebells into the province of Connaght for a little while (whence they have issued since into all parts of the kingdom, *tanquam ex equo Troiano*, to watch their opportunity): but though that was more than all that were before him ever did, yet they never attempted the sending of the Gospel unto them in their own language, or the setting up any English schooles amongst them for the education of their children, to translate them from darkness to light.

94. And as our sins were great in this and many more particulars, that might justly open the cataracts of heaven and bring down the sad deluge of God's wrath upon us; so there was a sad concurrence of strange passages of divine

hath beene made apparent to the world; all our former victories. *hitherto* om. 1. like Hercules his fightings with the. Hydra, who when. 4. sonne is very remarkeable. 5. *Caudinis*, where they could neyther fight nor flee, dismissed them *sub iugo*): *Turpis.* 6. *inimicos;* having advysed his sonne eyther to kill them all, or dismisse them honorably (as the king of Israel did the Syrians by Elisha's advice, when he had them at his mercy): who doing neyther, but taking a midle course, ruined himselfe and his countrey. None of. 7. victories, that our chronicles swell with, have. 8. Irish and popish. or. day, any more then when the lord Strongbow, earl of Chepstow, invaded Ireland *anno* 1169. The late usurper Oliver Cromwell. 11. have swarmed and issued forth since. 12. opportunity and to take the first advantage. But. 13. all the lawful princes that. 14. yet even then, when in their proud swelling words of vanity, *they would advance Christ's kingdome to the gates of Rome*, as St. Peter's was wont to bragg (as the duke of Bourbon once did, *anno* 1526, when he led the pope in triumph through the streetes with his face towards an ass's tayle), they never. 15. them (in their divided notions) translated into their. 15—6. of any schooles. 18. But though our. 20. us, yet our Saviour tells us in the destruction of the Galilæans by Herod, and of the inhabitants

providence, which did seem to portend and prognosticate our unavoidable ruine. For first our vice-roy, the earl of Strafford, was committed to the tow'r of London and executed a little before: his deputy Cristopher Wandesford (to whom he had delegated his authority in his absence) after he had torne a leafe out of the parliament book, found dead suddenly in his chamber: our king taken up with his Scottish affairs at Edinburrough, and endeavouring to gratify the f. Scots in any thing they could reasonably desire, if they would but keep within their own sphere and not intermeddle with the English concernments in church or state: the parliament of England very high in carrying on an universal reformation of all orders of men, that were thought to have corrupted their waies: *sed excessit medicina modum:* over Ireland two justices (aged gentlemen, that had served Q. E. in her warrs with the E. of Tyrone and Tireconnill) sir William Parsons and sir John Burlacey: and (which is sadder than all these) most, if not all, the high-sherifs in Ireland at that time Irish-Jesuited-papists. I am sure the high-sherif of the county of Cavan was so, Mulmore O'Relly (a desperate young fellow, of a small fortune, and of the parish of Kilmore), and the high-sherif of the next county to it, viz. of Monaghan, one Mr Fitzgerald.

of Jerushalem by the fall of an old tower (both which were sudden accidents), that none of these unexpectedly and suddenly ruined ones were greater sinners then others that were free from them. But besides all this, there was a sadder conjunction of planets, I meane a concurrence of stranger acts of divine providence, than ever was observed before in our skye or horizon, or I hope shal be again to the end of the world; all which sad aspects did seeme. 2. imminent, unavoidable ruine and at once, as it were, to conspyre against poore Ireland. For first (*quod caput est*) our vigilant viceroy. Strafford, being called away and committed. 3. London, was executed. 4. before (May 11th). 5—6. *after...booke* follows *found...chamber* (6, 7). 7. wholly taken. 8. affayrs and state concernes at. endeavouring *motos componere fluctus*, and ready to. 9. that they could rationally. 10. not to pass their owne border in intermedling. 14. ways before them; *sed.* 15. aged and decrepit. Queen Elizabeth. 16. Earl. 18. these, many justices of peace, more then ever before, and most. 19. papists, and the whole *posse comitatus* put in their bloody hands. I am. 22. namely of the county of. 23. Fitzgerald, who married a widow, one

95. So that in this conspiracy, as it were, of so many sad emergencies in that juncture of time and hour of temptation for poor Ireland, if the Lord had not left us a very small remnant, we had been as Sodom, we had been made like unto Gomorrah. For how easy a matter was it for 60 armed men to have surprized the castle of Dublin at any time, the gate whereof was kept by one old poor fellow alone, and where Q. Elizabeth's magazine for 40,000 men was, after Tyrone's rebellion quasht, laid up and kept. And indeed all the strength and hope of the rebells lay in

Mistriss Killet, of the parish of Kilmore. This widow was left by her husband in money and goods worth £2000, and had as many suiters from city and countrey as was ever knowne in those parts; but she chose this man (to her destruction), being a proper person (though of vilest inwards of any in the countrey), and promised to marry him upon condition of forsaking his popery and coming to church with her; both which he did, and made an open confession of the fayth of Christ in opposition to the faction of Antichrist, in the cathedrall of Kilmore, where the bishop marryed them and administred the sacrament unto them, and made them dyne with him, a few weekes before the rebellion. But this Sagamore before that tyme had driven away all her cattell and forsaken her and returned to his vomit; and then, having seized upon all that she had in the field and in the house, turned her away stript and her three children (that she had by her first husband) without any pitty or compassion; and he and his old squa lived together afterwards, as they had done in filthines before; and his poore wyfe, having gott to Dublin in much misery, dyed of famine (with all her children), as thousands did there, that had escaped with the skin of their teeth from all parts of the kingdome. This dolorous story I mention, because I knew all this, *ut crimine ex uno* yow may know what these bruitish men will do for the advancement of "the catholick cause" (as they call it), to whom nothing is unlawfull, that Sathan or their owne lusts and interests can suggest; as their *congregatio de propaganda fide* doth dayly declare, *quod volumus sanctum est;* and according to that jesuiticall and atheisticall maxim of theirs, *frons vulgi, cor privati.* So that by this. 1, 2. of all those sad. 3. Ireland, the little flock of Jesus Christ was left as sheepe in the middest of these ravening woolves, to be woorried and destroyed at the first snap; and if the Lord (that in wrath remembreth mercy) had. 5. *made* om. 7. an old. 8. *and* om. Queen Elizabeth's magazine (since Tyrone's rebellion was quasht) for 40,000 men was kept; but that the Lord rebuked them and the seed of the woman crusht the serpent's head the very day before the intended massacre, in stirring

the surprizal of this place, without which they had neither arms for horse nor foot, nor ammunition. And in full assurance of obteining this place, they had persuaded and prevailed with the old degenerate English of the Pale to join with them; which they never did before in any former rebellion, but by long continuance amongst them, they were now become Irish in their habit, language, rude manner of living and religion; and at last became Irish also in their affections and actions with the old barbarous Irish, and as merciless enemies as any the English found. But the very day before the castle should have been surpriz'd, God stirr'd up the spirit of a renegado, one O'Conelly, to acquaint the justices with the great and imminent danger of themselves and all the kingdom. And tho' they scarce believ'd a drunken fellow (as speaking rather out of some discontent than love to them), yet they gave order to draw up the bridge, and sent to the major to take a band of men with him, and to search the Globe tavern near the castle gate, where he found all the conspirators against the castle; and brought in Mac Guyer and Mac Mahune, the two leaders of the Ulster rebells, and laid them in irons, and sent them to London by Capt. Corby, where they received the first part of their torments.

up the spirit of a renegado [etc. as p. 171 l. 12]. All their strength. 10. *of the rebells* om. 2. ' ammunition. For in the earl of Strafford's tyme no man in Ireland, of whatsoever degree, could have above 10 lbs. weight of powder at once, and that out of the castle by order in writing. And in. 3. of their attacking of this place of strength, they. 6. them and conjugal affinity with them becoming Irish. 8. religion; at last. 10—23. given in H after p. 170 l. 8. 12. O'Conelly (whom I knew). 13. the lords justices. their great. danger and of all the kingdom's. 14. *And* om. 15. *as* om. *some* om. 17. bridge before the castle gate and let downe the port-cullises. major of the city. 18. taberne over against the. 20. Mc Guirir. 22. Cozby of the parish of Cavan. 23. their judgement, that sometymes goes before the finall torment of presumptuous murtherers and malefactors. [After *found* l. 10 H proceeds]: They gave out at first that *they had orders from the king to medle only with the English;* whereunto Sir James Craig replyed: that *he would never beleeve, nor any Christian man, that the king will command his left hand to cutt off his right.* Sometymes they sayd, *they had orders long before from*

their imprisoned deputy to cause a diversion for his releife and enlargement. But nobody regarded what they sayd, that (by divine permission) did what they pleased against God and man. Indeede the deputy's hand was esteemed heavy upon them, when he caused twelve of the principall men of the English Pale to stand upon a scaffold with papers upon their heads in the streets of Dublin, for not concurring (as it was said) to some desyred and expected verdict. But so it was esteemed also upon the English, as the earl of Cork, the lord Mount Norris, the lord chancellor Loftus and others felt; but his wrath was greatest against the Scotts, especially after their confederacy against prelacy and invading of England with their armies. In detestation of whose presumptuous proceedings he caused a declaration to be penned very sharply and severely, and to be sent throughout the whole kingdome of Ireland; wherin certain commissioners were named that should administer an oath of abjuration to all the Scotts, to cause them renounce all correspondence with their brethren in Scotland, or desire or intension of conjunction with them in their oath of conjuration, in reference to their nationall league and covenant. For the refusing of which oath Mr James Stewart (brother to the long-imprisoned lord Ockiltry in the castle of Blackness) with his wyfe and three daughters were brought up from Ulster and imprisoned in Dublin, where I gave them a visit and they shewed me letters from Mr Samuel Rutherford and other cheefe sticklers in their covenant, to comfort them in their durance and strengthen them against the abjuration; as if, with the primitive martyrs, they had suffered for the word of God and testimony of Jesu under the paganish and persecuting emperours. It was sad in the church of God, when they were sworne to one thing on the one side of the water of division that parts Scotland and Ireland, and the quit contrary on the other, under the same God and king and profession of the same religion; as of old, *altare contra altare*, and synods and anti-synods in the Greeke church, for a long tyme, till they were all ruined as at this day. But the title the rebells stuck to at last was this, that *they were the queen's catholick army.* But they behaved themselves so cruelly, that it was more likely they had had their commission from Athaliah or Jezabel; or rather from her that sitts upon a scarlet-coloured beast, that sayth in her hart: *I sit as a queene and am no widow and shall see no sorrow;* whose paramour is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name is Abaddon and Apollyon (Rev. ix. 11). And for a whole month's time, or thereabouts, they meddled not with the Scotts, though they had driven out all the English that were in the fields or in unwalled villages, that had no retyring place; as thincking it too hazardous to ingage two such potent nations at once, till they had first dispatcht one. In our county of Cavan there was no fortification at all; nor in the county of Leitrim, Monachen, Longford and Fermanach (save only the island of Enniskellin, where sir William Cole secured himselfe); though my lord Lambert was bound by his patent

from king James to build a sitadell at Cavan and a wall of defence against a sudden storme; yet, so great was the carelessnes and security of those dayes (as in the days of Noah and Lot) that nothing was done; only two Scottish knights, sir James Craig and sir Francis Hamilten, being mooved with feare and prudence, had built themselves two arkes, or small castles, for the safety of their respective famylies, upon their severall proportions of lands; which being within view and neer to each other (within a myle) preserved above a thowsand English and Scotts from the present fury and rage of those wild beasts that were skilfull to destroy. But when Antrim sent and fetcht his cozen, col. Kiltach, from the isles of Scotland, with his McDonills, being of the same family of Soarlybwy with him, the vizard of partition betweene English and Scotts was quite removed; for col. Kitach ('the left-handed Colin') his bloody two-handed sword made no difference. Yea, those English and Scottish papists that were fled into Ireland, that they might have popery to the full of their lusts, till they surfeited upon it and untill it came out at their nostrills again, and became loathsome unto them while it was yet betweene their teeth (as sweet as the qwayles were to the lustfull Israelits), ere it was well chewed, the wrath of God fell upon them also, as well as upon the protestants at first; for they found no favour at last, like the answer which the duke of Medina Sydonia gave in this case in '88: that *his sword knew no difference betweene a catholick and a heretick;* but that *he came to make way for his master.* To evidence this, there was a pretty gentleman of a good family in England, called Mr Pooley, that brought a good stock of money and other goodes with him a yeir or two before the rebellion (when God seemed to begin to make inquisition for blood and to disclose bloody popery, that she might no more cover her slayne in these three kingdomes), and a Scottish gentleman called the layrd of Forsythe, that was forced out of Scotland upon that account, that lived not farr from Kilmore; yet they were turned out of all, they, their wives and children, for all their popery; the Irish hatred being greater against the English nation than their religion. This Mr Forsythe was upon the point of renouncing popery a litle before the rebellion; for many papers in matters of religion had passed betweene the bishop of Kilmore and him, which had given him full satisfaction; and he was perswaded not only almost but altogether to become a Christian. But being prevented by that sudden storme, he durst not make so fayre a retreate out of the camp of Antichrist into the camp of Jesus Christ, as he intended, till the storme were over that was compassed with many terrours, for feare of his lyfe and unavoydable ruine of his whole family, that was now brought to beg a morsell of bread of the enemy. The Scotts then throughout all the province of Ulster, where they were most numerous, betooke themselves to holds, leaving all the open country to the enemy; for the first attempt of col. Kiltach had so frighted them, that they thought no man was able to stand before that son of Anak. In his first incounter with a few Irish

Highlanders and some of Antrim's Irish rebells (that were brethren in evill) against eight hundred English and Scotts, having commanded his murderers to lay downe all their fyre-arms, he fell in amongst them (with swords and durcks or scanes) in such a furious and irresistible manner, that it was reported that not a man of them escaped of all the eight hundred; the first and greatest losse in battell that we sustained in all that war, save one in Munster, under the unhappy conduct of sir Charles Vavasor; whereupon the rebells rode in triumph with their swords drawne through the streetes of Kilkeny, as if they had conquered all England. After this sad blow the English and Scotts in Ulster had ten thowsand men sent them from Scotland by order of the parliament of England, under the conduct of major generall Robert Monro, an old officer of the king of Swedes in Germany, who lay in Carrigfergus, Belfast, Munsyne, Colerayne, the Newry, Dundalk and other townes upon the sea coast; but litle or nothing worth the mentioning was ever done or attempted by them (though in a plentifull countrey, they were well nigh famished) save of a few men that my lord Moore borrowed from the garrison of Dundalk, under the command of captain Boniman, in his last exployt against the rebells at Fortlester, where he was slaine by a cannon-bullet of six pound weight, which beat him from his horse and beat off the back peice of his armour and I saw taken out of his body, being much spent (by grasing) ere it came thither, Sept. 11, 1643. This lord Moore was a most noble and worthy person, valient for the truth, and exceeding bountifull to the souldiers for their encouragement, and long bemoaned by all that knew him. We buryed his bowells in that place; and though we had lost our commander-in-cheefe and col. Lawrence Crawford (that afterwards was slaine before Hereford in '45), being the eldest field officer, tooke the command of our forces and immediately faced the enemy, yet they kept their fastnes and would not ingage; so we marcht off next day with my lord Moore's body to his house at Mellifont, within two miles of Drohida.

When the game turned, and our freinds became our foes and our foes our freinds, this Monro was surprized in his garrison of Carrigfergus and bed with his ladye by col. George Monck (after his conjunction with Owen Row O'Neale, the generall of the rebells, by order of the juncto at Westminster) and sent to the Tower of London, where he had tyme enough allowed him to learne more vigilancy, till the king's restauration enlarged him.

This col. Kiltach, having done as much mischeefe as he could in Ulster, was afterwards with his bloody followers the greatest part of Mountrose his strength in all his first expeditions, and the greatest bloodshedders; who having revolted from the covenanters (as was supposed and reported), because he was not chosen livet. general under Lesly in his second expedition into England in 1644, he began strenuously to destroy that which he had not long before pretended to build up under the victorious banner of the covenant. This col. Kiltach, with

96. But 'tis not my business to write the history of the rebellion. To return then to the point whence I digressed. What is become of our good bishop in this storm? What is the faithfull shepheard doing when his sheep are scattered from their pastures and torn in pieces, and their flesh given to be meat to the fowls of the air and to the beasts of the field, and none to deliver? Surely what Jeremiah did in the like case of the destruction of God's people by old Babylon: he spends his time in prayers and tears before the Lord with that little remnant that had escaped, tho' poor and desolate. He receives all that come unto him for refuge, and tells them, as David said to Abiathar, when he fled from Saul's massacre of the priests of the Lord: *Abide with me, fear not; for he that seeketh my life, seeketh your life: with me ye shall be in safeguard, as long as I am safe.* And indeed God was a little sanctuary to him, and caused the enemy to treat him well in the day of his calamity and desolation of God's people: for the Lord protected him and all his family, children and servants, from all personal violence; and none was ever suffered to do his person any wrong or to touch any of his for their hurt. He was *mediis tranquillus in undis*, as Noah in his ark; as if that of the apostle had been immediately spoken of him: *and who is he that will harm you, if ye follow that which is good?* Or as if the slaughter-master had given order concerning him, as Nebuchadnezar

f. 80 v°.

1 Sam. xxii. 23.

1 Pet. iii. 13.

his couzin sir Alexander McDonill, brother to the earl of Antrim, was afterwards slain in Munster by the English forces under the happy conduct of my lord Brockill and Inshiquin (if I mistake not) at the battell of Lyskarroll.

1—3. But to returne to the point whence my pen hath digressed after these things that lay in my way, least I should forgett the thing that yow desyred principally to know: What. 3. in all this storme and heavy tempest that fell upon us and tooke away from us (as once from Paul) all hope that we should be saved, in causing our sun to goe downe while it was yet day? For if the righteous scarcely be saved from such evills, that are snared in an evill tyme, when it falleth suddenly upon them, what is the faythfull. 6. meat for. 7. bury or deliver them. Jeremiah the prophet. 11. refuge, as another Gedaliah, and. 17. intreat. 18. *all* om. 19. violence, and did so still the enemy and avenger that none. 20. any harme, or to. 23. unto him. 24. *be followers of.* 25. speciall order. 1. Chaldean destroyer.

the Chaldean did to Nebuzaradan concerning Jeremiah in the like case, Jer. xxxix. 12. *Take him, and look well unto him, and do him no harm.* He *trusted in the name of the Lord and staied himself upon his God,* in nothing terrified by his adversaries; but that, as allwaies, so Christ should be magnified in his body, whether by life or death. The rebells told him that *he should be the last Englishman that should be put out of Ireland;* such is the praise and reward of vertue, even amongst the very enemies of it.

97. He was the onely Englishman in all the county that was permitted to stay under his own roof. There was but little spare room in his castle, which was no waies fensible against the least violent assault, and the poor strip't people that had plenty of all earthly accommodations but a little before, were now content to lodge in the out-buildings, in the church or churchyard, in heaps of straw or hay, and to feed upon boil'd wheat or whatsoever the enemy had left; for they could not so suddenly consume so great plenty, as was every where to be found. When Mrs. Moigne, that was his predecessour's widow, a venerable matron, came thither in the habit of the poorest beggar; and a worthy divine, one Mr. Hudson, that was rector of Belturbet, now bishop of Elphin, with his wife, stript out of all; he could not look upon them with dry eyes, but fetch'd them all the cloathes he had in the world (save what was on his back) and gave it them.

2. *Jer. xxxix.* 12. om. *him* (Heb. '*set thine eyes upon him*') *and.* 3. *harm; but do to him as he shall say to thee.* 4. *God,* as David did, when after the spoyle of Ziklag by the Amalekites they spake of stoning him. He was in nothing. 5. so now also. 6. by death. 9. it, and in the worst of times; his episcopacy being accompanied not only with those generall and common good advantages of charity, meeknes, integrity, good example in all things; but with the speciall furtherance which his calling and place in church or state or family could give it; whereby this holy man of God being precious in God's sight, he became honourable amongst the worst of men, as an angel of God, who sought the things of Jesus Christ above many. He was. 10. county of Cavan. 17. left; that could. 19. Mistrisse. 21. begger (where she had lived many yeares in great state before) and one. 22. *now...Elphin* om. 23. and his. 25. [*house* 1st hand in Tanner MS., *world* 2nd hand]. them. This Mr Hudson is now bishop of Elphin, as I am informed. The Scripture.

98. The Scripture he preached upon in that saddest Lord's day that ever Ireland saw, was the whole third psalm, penned by David, when there was a general conspiracy and insurrection of his people with his unnatural son Absolon against him, when he least dreamt of it: the next Lord's day on Mic. vii. v. 8, 9, 10: *Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him, untill He plead my cause and execute judgement for me. He will bring me forth to His light, and I shall behold His righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her, which said unto me, 'Where is the Lord thy God?'* All these verses he preached upon in those dark and gloomy daies. Thus he continued, like a man standing in the breach between the living and the dead; and like the man Jeremiah calls for, or him that Ezekiel seeks for in the same case; untill the 18 day of December following; where though we got our bread daily with the hazard of our lives, yet (by the blessing of God) we had liberty without interruption in all the publick and private duties of religion. f. 81 r Oct. 2 1641. Jer. v Ezek.

2. sabbath. 3. psalme, which was. 4, 5. people against him, under the command of his. 5. *against him* om. dreamed it. 7. *shall ryse again.* 11. *the light.* 15. dayes and the sabbath following, to an afflicted and poore people, that with Rachel, weeping for her children, refused to be comforted; that after sermon used to returne to their habitations with joy and comfort to eat the fatt and drinck the sweet, and now had no place (with our Saviour) to lay their head on; whom God began to feed with the bread of teares, and to give them teares to drinck in great measure, whiles the blasphemous enemy sayd insultingly, *Where is now your protestant God?* Thus he. 16. the dead and the living, to make an atonement for them, like another Aron. 17. for in the like case, or. 18. case; one that sighes and cryes for all the abominations that were done in the midst of Ireland, untill the 18th. 19. perills. lives, and were pressed out of measure above strength, insomuch that we despayred even of lyfe, and had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God who rayseth the dead, and did deliver us from so great a death; yet. 21. religion, to converse with God, and in every thing by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving to make our case and requests knowne unto Him, that can speake a word in due

99. While we enjoyed this little halcion-tranquillity amongst these surges and proud waves, all the rebells were at a stand and began to repent of what they had so rashly begun, when they understood that the castle of Dublin had taken the two Ulster lords M^c^Guivir and M^c^Mahun, that were entrusted to take it, where all their armory was, and that they had as yet received neither commanders nor arms from Spain (according to their agreement) nor had any other but what they found amongst the train-bands and scattered troops, whom they had surprized in most places. The heads of them in the county of Cavan and Monaghan made their addresses to my L. of K., humbly entreating him to mediate a reconciliation for them, promising immediately to lay down their arms and to restore the remnant of the surviving English to their possessions and goods, as much as in them lay. And indeed it was more than probable that their intention was real, there being no hopes left them in heaven or earth, but in the fatal divisions between K. and P., which was all their stay and strength to the end of the warr. They knew also that a thousand horse and dragoons might have marched through the length and bredth of Ireland without interruption, they having for the most part but clubbs and staves and unfixed arms, without powder or match. Wherefore my L. of K. wrote their words, and sent them by a special messenger of their own, a chief rebell, to the lords justices, Parsons and Burlacy, the true copy whereof is as followeth:

f. 81 v°.

100. *The humble remonstrance made by the gentry and commonalty of the county of Cavan, of their griev-*

season to a weary soule and turne Him to the prayers of the destitute at last. Then began we to prize Gospel-ordinances when we enjoyed them in peace and plenty, wheras now we waited upon God in them in great danger and want of all things. Whyles we enjoyed. 2. waves of iniquity. 4. begun, and knew not what to do. 8. agreement and daily expectation. 10. surprized in their quarters in. 12. lord of Kilmore. 15. former possessions. 17. real, having no. 18. betwixt the king and parliament. 23. match, and no shipping at all. lord of Kilmore. 27. *remonstrance of the.*

ances common with other parts of this kingdom of Ireland.

To the right honorable the LL. justices and council:

Whereas we, his majestie's loyal subjects of his highness's kingdom of Ireland, have a long time groan'd under many grievous pressures occasioned by the rigorous government of such placed over us, as respected more the advancement of their own private fortunes, than the honour of his majestie or the wellfare of us his subjects; whereof we in humble manner declar'd ourselves to his highness by our agents sent from the parliament, the representative body of this kingdom; notwithstanding which we find ourselves of late threatned with farr greater and more grievous vexations, either with captivity of our consciences or loosing of our lawfull liberties or utter expulsion from our native seats, without any just ground given on our parts to alter his majestie's goodness so long continued unto us, of all which we find great cause of fear in the proceeding of our neighbour nations, and do see it allready attempted upon by certein petitioners for the like course to be taken in this kingdom, for the effecting whereof in a compulsory way, so as rumours have caused fears of invasion from other parts, to the dissolving of the bonds of mutual agreement which hitherto hath been kept inviolable between the several subjects of this kingdom, and whereby all other his majestie's dominions have been linked in one.

For the preventing therefore of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom, we have, for the preservation of his majestie's honour and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our hands for his highness's use and service such forts and other places of strength, as comming to the possession of others might prove disadvantageous and tend to the utter undoing the kingdom. And we do hereby declare, that herein we harbour not the least thought of disloyalty towards his majestie, or purpose any hurt to any of his highness's subjects in their possessions, goods, or liberties; onely we humbly desire, that your lordships f. 82 r°. *will be pleased to make remonstrance to his majestie for us, of*

5. *have of long.* 17. *feares.* 20. *a* om. 22. *of* om. *bond.* 23. *beene held.* 35. *liberty.* *humbly* om.

all our grievances and just fears, that they may be removed and such a course setled by the advice of the parliament of Ireland, whereby the liberty of our consciences may be secur'd unto us and we eased of our other burdens in the civil government. As for the mischiefs and inconveniencès that have allready hapned through the disorder of the common sort of people against the English inhabitants, or any other, wee, with the noblemen and gentlemen and such others of the several counties of this kingdom are most willing and ready to use ours and their best endeavours in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made, as in part we have allready done. An answer hereunto is most humbly desired with such present expedition as may by your lordships be thought most convenient, for avoiding the inconveniences of barbarousness and uncivility of the commonalty, who have committed many outrages without any order, consenting or privity of ours. All which we leave to your lordships' most grave wisedom,

And we shall humbly pray &c.

This remonstrance was subscribed by many chief leaders of the Irish, as namely by Philip O'Rely, that married the E. of Ormond's mother and commanded the county in chiefe; by Mulmore O'Rely the high sherif, by Edmond O'Rely his father, and Philip brother to Edmond and the most cunning artificer of them all, and by many others. By which you see what their present desperate condition did suggest, and what account they made of the bishop of K., whom they kept for a reserve, or the last bit, having seized upon all his horses at the very first.

101. Mean time the titular bishop, D. Swiveney (whose brother the bishop of K. had long enterteined in his house and at his table, and had converted him from the error of his

8. *other.* 10. *our.* 14. *inconveniency.* 20. Earl. 23. Edmond, that was the. 24. others that I did see subscribe to it, whose names have long agoe perished with them out of my memory. By all this you see. 26. of my lord bishop of Kilmore. 27. reserve or intercessour in time of need, and for the last. 28. first, and a hundred of his sheepe. 29. Dr. 30. Kilmore.

way, from Jesuitism to Christianity, and preferred to a way of livelihood) intends to put a Jesuitical trick upon my L. of K., by offering himself to become his protector, his keeper and defender from all violence in person and goods; that thus he might attain to a peaceable possession of the bishop's house and all belonging to him, ere it were scatter'd by the rebells; and that he might drive away the poor, afflicted souls that were about him in great number, that knew not whether to go in the depth of winter for refuge, and withall that he might set up the abomination of desolation in the church of K. next Lord's day. But my lord understanding his wicked designe, declin'd it by this Latin epistle that follows:

Reverendo in Christo fratri Eugenio Gulielmus Kilmor. f. 82 v°.
ecclesiae minister S. P.

Benigne tu quidem (reverende frater) qui tua praesentia te mihi offers in hoc tumultu praesidio fore. Nec ego in re simili impar tibi in hoc caritatis officio deprehenderer. Sed quo minus hoc tuo beneficio utar in praesentia multis impedior. In primis loci angustiis, tum calamitosorum omnis ordinis, sexus, aetatis, numero, qui huc tanquam ad asylum confugerunt. Accedit quorundam, et inter hos filii mei, invaletudo. Quod caput est, non religionis inter nos (unica enim ea est et communis Christiana, quod ego semper sensi et scriptis professus sum) sed cultus disparitas; nos enim in eiusmodi miseriis lectione sacrarum Scripturarum, precibus assiduis lingua vernacula ad Deum fusis, psalmodia nos ipsos solamur; et quando in humanis tam parum fidei est, fidem et opem divinam imploramus. Ea res, si non te, at comites tuos offenderet, nec prohiberi possent, qui te hic commorantem visitare se velle dicerent: quo praetextu circumcelliones isti irrumperent, qui cum cetera omnia nostra diripuerunt, ad extremum se nece nostra cultum Deo gratum exhibituros opinantur.

2. lord of Kilmore. 3. protector, keeper. 4. hostility and violence. 6. of all. 8. numbers. 9. go for refuge. *for refuge* om. 11. Kilmore. 12, 13. *declined it* comes after *follows*. this excellent epistle. 23. *unica nempe*. 24. *et sensi*. 25. *nos nempe*. 32 *nostra omnia*.

Mihi igitur certum est in divino praesidio acquiescere. Christiano homini, et quidem episcopo iam paene septuagenario, Christi causa nulla mors acerba esse potest, nulla non oppetenda. Interea si quid tibi visum fuerit interdicere apud populum sub anathemate, ne deinceps concussis, spoliatis, toties exutis, vim adferant (mihi enim soli nihil posco), rem facies Deo gratam, tibi honorificam, populo isti (si tibi obtemperaverit) salutarem; sin minus, at sperate Deum memorem; cui te (reverende frater) ex animo commendo.

Tuus in Christo,

G. KILMORENS.

Nov. 11, 1641.

To my reverend and loving brother, D. Swiney, deliver these at Cavan.

6. *mihi nempe.* 13. Dr. *Cavan.* Did ever Polycarpus at Smyrna, or Ignatius of Antioch, or any other of the famous bishops and martyrs of the primitive church, who had their Father's name written in their foreheads, *i.e.* that made an open and cleir confession of the fayth of Christ crucifyed, come neerer to Him, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, and shew a greater contempt of the world and of death itselfe under the cruell persecution of the pagans, then this our magnanimous confessor and blessed martyr of Jesus declares in this short and pithy epistle under the cruelty of the bloody papists? whose hatred of, and cruelty of all sorts against, the people of God, doth as farr exceede that of their elder brother the pagan, as they may finde one day (if God be true), that the torments of hell and those everlasting burnings prepared for doggs and sorcerers and whoremongers and murderers and for idolators and for whosoever loveth and maketh a lye (for popery is nothing else but a great and presumptuous lye against the true God and truth of God, contained in the Scriptures of truth, and every particular of it), are above these of their popish purgatory; and they that follow him that was a murderer from the beginning and abode not in the truth, may justly expect to be ranged with him and to suffer as murderers, unless they repent of the works of their hands, that worship devills and idolls of gold and silver and brass and stone and wood, which neyther can see nor heare nor walke; and of their murthers, of their sorceries and of their fornication and of their thefts. *Nec turba deorum talis, ut est hodie.* The loud cry of all the saints under the tyranny of the damnable hierarchy of Antichrist, being that of Jeremiah: *I have heard a voyce as of a woman in travel and the anguish of her that bringeth forth her first cheild, the voyce of the daughter*

This rational and religious epistle (being the last that ever he wrote) staied the titular from intruding upon him in that hour of temptation, or giving him or any of his any farther disturbance till the 18 day of December following.

of Sion that bewayleth herself and spreadeth forth her hands, saying, 'Woe is me now, my soule is wearied because of the murderers'; which was as sadly and truly verifyed of poore Ireland (that no man seekes after for her present consolation—whose breach is wyde like the sea—or future preservation) as ever it was of afflicted Sion, when she was tossed with tempests and not comforted. Dr Bernard writes that there were 154,000 murdered in the province of Ulster only by the enemyes owne confession and gloriation; so that the expression of Daniel may be used here, that *under the whole heaven hath not beene done, as hath beene done upon* Ireland (Dan. ix. 12). Now this rationall. 2. my lord of Kilmore wrote. for that time from. 4. 18th. following. In this interim one mistrisse Dillon, a worthy gentlewoman (wife to Luke Dillon Esquire, a justice of the peace for the county of Cavan), that was of the parish of Kilmore and a constant hearer of my lord's, sent to him for some spirituall support in her great affliction, her husband being a popish rebell. This mistrisse Dillon had been the wyfe and widow of a rich London merchant, whose name was Hartleb, and was found out by Mr Dillon a younger sonne of the Earl of Roscomen in Ireland, a proper gentleman and bred at the innes of court. She never once questioned his religion (being at the innes of court, and his elder brother my lord Dillon having openly renounced popery and being a privy councillour, and sometymes one of the two justices that ruled all), which he had craft enough to conceale till he had caught the bird; but marryes him according to the booke in her owne parish by her owne minister. In all these things for his owne ends this Jesuited gentleman condiscends unto her, but was never in church before with her nor after; at which surprizall she was sore dejected and afflicted and never saw a good day afterwards, that without mature deliberation or inquisition was thus rashly circumvented to her undoing, and that by a popish Irishman. This I mention, that Christian women may learne to aske what religion their love is off before their espousalls. This gentleman, after he had disposed of all that she had at his pleasure, brings her unto a very small estate in a litle island, called Trinity island, and builds a house within a myle and a halfe of Kilmore, and gives her full liberty to goe to church with her two daughters by her first husband, that were good women and marryed to two Scotts that were brothers, Penelope the elder to major Bayly that commanded the standing foote company of Scotts that lay at Cavan before the warrs; the other, to his brother William that was a minister in the diocese of Kilmore and afterwards bishop of Clonfort.

But when she was brought to bed of her first cheild to Mr Dillon, if the women had not bestirred themselves that were then present about her, the poore infant had beene torne in peeces betweene the hands of the Christian mother and Antichristian father; the mother desyring that her cheild might be baptized into Christ by a minister of the Gospell, and crying out that she would kill herselfe and her cheild also, ere ever she would suffer the fruite of her body to be dedicated to Antichrist by a popish and idolatrous priest &c.

But notwithstanding all her preposterous zeale and too late repentance for that which could not be reversed, he, being stronger then her, forced the cheild from her with such popish violence, as if he had intended to have dasht them both in peeces (as Jacob feared of rough-handed Esau), and so carryed it away to the kyte, the priest, that was in the next roome waiting for the prey, when some thought it had beene dead by the sharp strugling and conflict about the sacramentall seale of the new birth of it. But she never offered the breast any more to it, then if it had beene none of her's, nor strove with him any more about any of his children; but suffered him (though with continuall regrate and sadnes of hart) to do with his children as it seemed good to him in his owne eyes; so they were all brought up in idolatry, and marryed to the children of Belial; so that which Rebeccah feared about the match of her sonne Jacob, was really her lott, she became weary of her lyfe and sayd often: *What good shall my life do to me?* she being thus so unequally yoked, so directly contrary to that matrimoniall institution given by the apostle at large, 2 *Cor.* vi. 14.

Now having the affliction of her husband's treasonable rebellion against God and man superadded to the great heap of her former conjugall afflictions, she knew not what to doe nor whether to goe for comfort, her house being now a den of theeves and murtherers, whither they resorted from all places; and in this extremity she sends to my lord of Kilmore, her faithfull pastor, whose constant hearer she was, for a word of consolation in her hour of temptation, to asswage her griefe and deliver her from her sorrow that was now ready to swallow her up with desperation, unless the Lord came in with speedy releefe to a sincking and weary soule.

The suitable return that my Lord makes to this pious request, to save her from succumbing under so great a burden, I will heere set downe, because it was the last rich cordiall that this spirituall phisitian ever sent or administred in writing to any afflicted soule, being the abbreviate of many excellent sermons that she heard him preach before, in the publick assemblyes of the church at Kilmore:

Yow desyre, as I am informed (deare sister in Christ Jesus), that I would send you some short memoriall, to put yow in mynde how to carry yourselfe in this sorrowfull tyme. I will doe it willingly; the more because with one and the same labour I shall both satisfie yow and recollect myne owne thoughts also to the like performance

of myne own duty; and bethinking myselfe how I might best accomplish it, there came to my mynde that short rule of our lyfe, which the apostle mentions in his epistle to Titus, and whereof yow have beene a diligent hearer in the schoole of grace, where he reduceth the whole practise of christianity unto three heads, of living soberly, justly, and godly; this last directing our carriage towards God, the midlemost towards our neighbour, and the foremost towards ourselves. Now since this is a direction for our whole lyfe, it seemes to me that we have no more to doe at any tyme, but to con this lesson more perfectly, with some particular application of such parts of it as are most suitable to the present occasions.

And as to sobriety first (under which the virtues of humility, modesty, temperance, chastity and contentednes are contayned), since this is a tyme wherin, as the prophet sayth, The Lord of Hosts calleth to weeping and mourning and pulling of the hayre and girding with sackcloth, yow shall by my advice conforme yourself to these, that by the hand of God suffer such things. Let your apparell and dress be mournfull, as I doubt not but that your mynde is; your dyet sparing and coarse, rather than full and liberall; frame yourselfe to the indifferency whereof the apostle speaketh, in whatsoever state you shal be, therewith to be content; to be full and to be hungry; to abound and to want. Remember now what is the lot of others, you know not how soone it may be your owne. Learne to despise and defye the vaine and falsely-called wealth of this world, whereof yow now see we have so casuall and uncertaine a possession.

This for sobriety, the first part of the lesson pertaining to yourselfe.

Now for justice, which respects others (and containeth the vertues of honor to superiours, discreet and equall government of inferiours, peaceablenes to all, meeknes, mercy, just dealing in matters of getting and spending, gratitude, liberality, just speech and desyres). God's judgements being in the earth, the inhabitants of the world should learne righteousnes, as the prophet speaketh: 'Call to mynde 'therefore and bethinke yow, if in any of these you have fayled, and 'turne your feete to God's testimonyes': certainly these tymes are such, wherin yow may be afflicted, and say with the psalmist: 'Horror 'hath taken hold of me, and rivers of teares run down mine eyes, 'because they keepe not thy laws.' Rebelling against superiours, misleading not only by example, but by compulsion, inferiours, laying their hand on them that were at peace with them, unjustly spoyling, unthankfully requiting those that had shewed them kindnes, no fayth nor truth in their promises; judge by the way of the schoole that teacheth Christ thus; are these His doings? As for those that suffer, I am well assured, I shall not need to informe yow or stir yow up to mercy and compassion. That which is done in this kynde, is done to Christ Himselfe, and shal be putt upon account in your

But when she was brought to bed of *at His glorious appearance.*
if the women had not bestirred themse
about her, the poore infant had beene *esson remaynes, which teacheth*
hands of the Christian mother and *igiously (to this belongs first the*
desyring that her cheild might be *is feare, love and fayth in God;*
of the Gospell, and crying out the *holy use of His word and sacra-*
cheild also, ere ever she would su *apostle makes it the whole end and*
d' d to Antichrist by a popish an *is world, to seeke the Lord; yet in*
withstanding all her prep *vited thereto, as it is written of*
which could not be r *de came to invade him: 'he set*
her with *d the people to a solemne fast.'*
o seeke the Lord,
hr. xx. 3. *So the church professeth in the prophet Isaiah: 'In the*
of Thy judgements, Lord, we have waited for Thee, the desyre of
ur soule is to Thy name and to the remembrance of Thee. With
'my soule have I desired Thee in the night, yea with my spirit within
'me will I seeke Thee early.' In this publick calamity therefore it is
our duty to turne to Him that smiteth us, and to humble ourselves
under His mighty hand: to conceive a reverend and religious feare
towards Him, that not only by turning away His countenance can
thus trouble us, against that of man, which can no more than kill
the body.

Againe, to renew our love to our heavenly Father, that now offereth
Himselfe to us as to children, and to give a proofe of that love that
we beare to our Saviour in the keeping of His sayings, hating in com-
parison of Him and competition with Him father, mother, children,
goods and lyfe itselfe, which is the condition and proofe of His dis-
ciples; above all to revive and to reinforce our fayth and affiance, which
is now brought unto the tryal of the fiery furnace and of the lyon's
den: O that it might be found to our honour, prayse and glory, at the
appearing of Jesus Christ! In the meane space, even now let us be
partakers of Christ's sufferings; and heare Him from heaven encou-
raging us: 'Be thou faythfull unto death, and I will give thee the
'crowne of lyfe.'

Touching prayer we have the gracious invitation, 'Call upon Me
'in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee'; the example of all God's
saints and of our Saviour in His agony; to this belong the humble
confession of our sinnes with earnest request of pardon; the complaint
of our misery and danger with request of succour and protection.
We have besides the intercession of our Advocate with the Father, the
cry of the innocent blood that hath been cruelly shed, and the Lord's
own interesting cause, so as we may say with the psalmist: 'Aryse, O
'God; plead Thine own cause, remember how the foolish man (yea
'the man of sin) reproacheth Thee dayly. Forget not the voyce of
'Thine enemies; the tumult of those that rise against Thee, increaseth
'continually.' That psalme and many others, as the vi, xiii, xxxv,
xliii, lxxi, lxxiv, lxxix, lxxx, lxxxvi, lxxxviii, xci, xcii, xciv, cii,

cxv, cxxiii, cxxx, cxl, cxlii, do give presidents of prayers in such tymes as these; and the prayer of Daniel and Ezra the ix, of Asa and Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xiv. and xx. 12. The storys of David's flight before Absolom, and Jehoshaphat's behaviour when his enemys came against him, of Hezekiah in Sennacherib's invasion, Isa. xxxvii, and the whole booke of Esther, are fit Scriptures now to be redd, that through patience and comfort of them we might have hope.

Now because we know not how soone we may be called to sanctifie God's name by making profession thereof, yow may perhaps desyre to know what to say in that day. You may openly profess your not doubting of any article of the Catholick fayth, shortly layd downe in the Creed, or more largely layd downe in the Holy Scriptures, but that you consent not to certayne opinions, which are no points of fayth, which have beene brought into common beliefe, without warrant of Scriptures or pure antiquity, as namely:

That it is of necessity to salvation to be under the pope.

That the Scriptures ought not to be redd of the common people.

That the doctrine of Holy Scripture is not sufficient to salvation.

That the servise of God ought to be in a language not understood of the people.

That the communion should not be administred to them in both kindes.

That the bread in the Lord's Supper is transubstantiated into His body.

That He is there sacrificed for the quick and the dead.

That there is any purgatory besides His blood.

That our good workes can merit heaven.

That the saints heare our prayers and know our harts.

That images are to be worshipped.

That the pope is infallible and can command angells.

That we ought to pray to the dead and for the dead.

In all these notwithstanding yow may profess your teachablenes, if by sound reasons out of God's word you shal be convinced of the truth of them: And because we know not how farr it will please God to call us to make resistance against sin, whether unto blood itselfe or no; it shall be wisdome for us to prepare ourselves to the last care of a godly lyfe, which is to dye godly. This the apostle Paul calleth sleeping in Jesus, implying thereby our fayth in Him, or being found in His work and our committing our souls into His hands with peace; such a sweet and heavenly sleep that was of Stephen, whose last words for himselfe were, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit, and for his tormentors, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge; wherewith I will end this writing, and wish to end my lyfe when the will of God shall be; to whose gracious protection (deare sister) I do hereby committ yow.

November 23. 1641.

102. It came to pass after this, that the rebells having often desired my lord to put away the poor, stript people, that had escaped with the skin of their teeth from the fury
f. 83 r°. of the adversary that was ready to destroy them, and had for the space of allmost two months been safe as with Lot in Zoar: they told him, that *it crossed their designe to maintein such a multitude, whom they intended to destroy, that what he had in the house or field might be for the mainteinance of their soldiers.* His lordship refusing to cast them into the fire out of which they had been taken as so many firebrands 1
plucked out of the burning, resolves like a good shepheard, to lay down his life for his flock; or with them rather, as Zwinglius did; than thus to expose them or hide his eyes from his own flesh, in suffering them to lack any thing, whiles he had yet any thing left. At last they resolve upon 1
another speedy and inhuman course, and tell him, that *tho' they loved and honoured him above all the English that ever came into Ireland, because he had never done wrong to any, but good to many; yet they had receiv'd orders from their*

This poore afflicted lady received this divine instruction and conso- 2
lation in the midst of her evills with such gratulation, that her soule began to magnify the Lord and her spirit (with the blessed Virgin) to rejoyce in God her Saviour; that she was no more sad in such a high degree as before, but her hart (with Hannah) rejoiced in the Lord, and her mouth was so enlarged over her enemyes that were now round 2
about her, that she did earnestly contend for the fayth once given to the saints, with the popish Jesuits and priests; and delighted so much in this heavenly meditation, that she gott it all by hart; and so having fought the good fight of fayth, finished her course and kept the fayth, and enjoyeth now the reward of the faythfull, the crowne of life, 3
amongst the blessed confessors that hold fast Christ's name and had not denyed His fayth, though they dwelt (as He did) even where Sathan's throne is now, yet loved not their lives unto death.

2. *often* om. lord of Kilmore. 3. had so hardly escaped from. 4. so ready. 9, 10. into the lyon's mouth to be devoured, out of 3
which they had beene taken, *as the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lyon two leggs or a peece of an eare*, as the prophet Amos speaketh, or as so many. 12. flock (as the great Shepherd did), or with them rather to dye, as Zuinglius the reformer did, then thus. 14. to take (?).
15. left him; for he sayd with Esther: *How can I endure to see the evill* 4
that shall come upon my people? or how can I endure to see the destruction of my kindred? At last. 19. *strict orders.* 1. *councell of state.*

council at Kilkenny, that if he would not put away the distressed people from him, they must take him from them. He said no more but that of David, when he was forced to flee for his life, *Here am I, let the Lord do unto me as it seems good to Him;* and *the will of the Lord be done.*

103. Hereupon they immediately seiz'd upon and drove away all his cattell, whereof he had good store of small and great, having a whole Irish mile of good and fruitfull grounds round about his castle well stockt. And taking possession of the castle and all that was within it, upon the 18 day of December, they took my lord bishop with his two sons and A. C. the minister of Cavan prisoners, and brought them to a castle in the midst of a lough within 2 miles of K. the onely place of strength in the whole county, called Cloch-water. There was of old a little iland about it, but it was worn all away to the bare stone walls, and not one foot of ground was to be seen onely a tall, round tower, like a pidgeon-house, standing in the midst of the waters, and above a musquet-shot from it to each shoar. Hither they brought this blessed servant of God, as John the beloved disciple unto *the isle called Patmos;* and that upon the same account, *for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ,* who in that respect may well be called his brother and companion in tribulation and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ. And then the titular priest took peaceable possession

1. Kilkeny, which was the metropolis of the rebells. 2. *must immediately without any more adoe. from them,* to whom he. 4. *seemeth.* and that of Paul's freinds: *the.* 6. Whereupon. seize. drive. 8. grounds lying. 9. stockt. He had a great husbandry, kept two teemes and many servants, most of whom were Irish. And albeit he might justly say with Samuel before the Lord and all the people: *Whose ox have I taken, or whose ass have I taken, or whom have I defrauded, whom have I oppressed, or of whose hands have I received any bribe to blinde myne eyes therewith, and I will restore it!* and might as justly expect and receive the like answer with him: *Thou hast not defrauded us nor oppressed us, neyther hast thou taken aught of any man's hand:* yet upon the 18th day of December, taking possession of the castle and of all that was within it, they tooke. 11. and his. 12. with Alexander Clogy. 13. Kilmore. 14. Clochwoter. 16. ground now to be seene above water; only. 19. Thither they bring. 21. *that is called.* 25. *then* om.

of all, as having all this while been wrongfully kept out (as he said); who the next Sabbath day set up the image of jealousy that provokes to jealousy in the cathedral church.

f. 83 r°. 104. They would not suffer his sons' wives to go with their husbands; but these obtein'd favour to abide with an honest Irish minister, whose name was Denis O'Sheridan, whose wife was an English woman. They were a blessed couple, and did much good and reliev'd many. They did not suffer them to carry away with them any thing out of the castle for their present accommodation and natural necessity; but as they stood they took them away with them on foot. Unto this sad goale they were conveyed by a colt or trough made of one piece of timber; and there they found a justice of the peace, that had deservedly taken possession of this dungeon the first day of the rebellion, one Mr Arthur Cullum and his wife; whose father Sir Hugh being a captain under the Q. in Tyrone's warrs, had that fort committed to his trust, for the keeping of which he had a large proportion of lands given him: but his son, that knew nothing of the warrs of the Lord, neglected the place so much, where the magazine ought to have been kept for the defence of the countrey against sudden insurrections, that tho' he said, *he had in his house* (when he was taken prisoner) *ten pounds worth of sugar and plums, yet he had not one pound of powder, nor one fixt musquet for the defence of it.*

105. The young men they put in irons, lest they should surprize the fort at any time: for sometimes they would all be drunk, and sometimes but one keeper left to look to six prisoners. But God gave them such favour in the eyes of

1. whyle (as he sayd) beene...out. *as he said* om. 2, 3. Lord's day set up in the cathedrall church the image of jealousy. And thus the shepherd being smitten (or taken away) in conformity to and congruity with the great Shepherd in this also, the sheepe of the litle flock were scattered abroad and became a prey. They would not suffer. 5. those. 6 minister, one Denis O'Sheridine who was marryed to an. 8. many of God's outcasts. 11. away a-foote with them (as the people of God to Babilon); only they mounted my lord upon a little Irish *gearran*. Unto. 12, 13. cott or troch. 14. *the* om. 15. very first. 17. queene. 19. land allowed him. this his son. 20. Lord with these Canaanites. 25. *it*. And therefore it was the first place they seized upon, and he the first that was clapt up into it. The

the keeper of the prison, that he abated much of the rigorous commands that were given him, and did ease them of their irons, and gave them leave to use divine exercises of God's worship, as to pray, preach and sing the songs of Sion in a strange land; though in the next room the priest were at his Babylonish mass sometimes. In this pit there was neither door nor window of glass or wood to keep out snow or rain, and the boards of the floors so rotten and broken with rain, that it seemed not very safe to walk upon them: but God's providence in this mount of extreamity was marvellously seen towards them; else they might have perished with cold in the height of winter and in the midst of the waters in that desolate place. For the rebells had brought one Mr Richard Castledine prisoner, who had been a carpenter, but for many years before had not touch'd a tool, being become one of the wealthiest men in those parts. But now he was not asham'd to return to his old trade: he procured some tools and boards, and made shutts for the large windows, that were very dangerous to them and himself.

caelum undique et undique pontus.

young. 1. prison (as to Joseph of old). 4. pray, read, preach. 5. land, as the three children; though. were acting his. 6. *sometimes* om. 13. that unconfortable and. marg. n. om. 14—17. carpenter many yeares before, and he procured. 19. to the prisoners before. This Richard Castledyne was brought over into Ireland (with his carpenter's tooles on his back) by sir Richard Waldron, who had a large plantation in the parish of Cavan, where he began to build a castle, called Fernham castle from the name of his place in England. All the carpenter's worke was contrived and performed by this Richard Castledyne, that by his diligence and sobriety in the feare of the Lord had gott a considerable estate under his master; who, playing the ill-husband and being corrupted by the Irish commessations, never finished his begun woorke, but gave way to this his servant to purchase his master's castle and all the lands belonging to it in less space then thirty yeares; and withall being exceedingly discouraged by the death of esquire Waldrone his eldest son, whom sadly overcome with drinck, major Trafford (that commanded the Welsh company that lay at Belturbet) slew for speaking some rash words (as was pretended), he left Ireland and returned to England long before the rebellion. This industrious and thriving carpenter had no sonne, only two daughters; the one of which he had married to his master, sir Richard Waldron his youngest sonne, with a full intention to leave him all his father's lands that he had purchased of him, if the rebellion had not inter-

f. 84 r. 106. But to return to the prison; What entertainment had this man of God there? Without doubt sorry entertainment in such a desolate place, where no son of man had lodged in 40 years before; even much like that which Elijah found, when he hid himself from Ahab and Jezebel by the brook Cherith that is before Jordan: the occasion being the same, the place not much unlike; for it was said to him, *Thou shalt drink of the brook, and I have commanded the ravens to feed thee there; and the ravens brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening, and he did drink of the brook.* Even so at God's command these ravenous beasts brought him flesh and bread enough, and bid him and the other five prisoners with him to dress it as they would, for they were no cooks, but keepers; nor would they allow any of his servants to attend him in this extremity. So they got a pot and boil'd some, and upon the coals roasted or broiled some part, as in the camp or leaguer soldiers are glad to do. His lodging was little better than that Jacob was fain to take up with (when he fled from his

posed. Now this Richard Castledyne was esteemed one of the most religious men in all the countrey; could exactly take notes of sermons and give a good account of them to his family when he came home; a devout man and one that feared God with all his house; which gave much almes to the people, and like another Cornelius prayed to God alway, being under a greater effusion of the spirit of grace and supplication then many. He, being accounted the best monyed man in all the country, was brought to this prison, that his enemyes might finde out where his great strength lay (I mean his wealth), for he was very rich in all things towards God and men; and, being outed of all that was above ground, was brought by God's providence to be helpfull to the other five prisoners that were there before him; and though he had hardly tooched a toole (in such a way) for many yeares before, yet he was not ashamed in his old age to returne to his former architecture that he was bred up in, to do us and himselfe good in that extremity. That Trafford fled to the German warrs, and after many yeares was an unfortunate popish colonel in the king's army, and at last a *reformado* in sir William Vaughan's troope at the battell of York and Nazby. But to. 3. such a ruinous and empty place. 4. *which* om. 12. bread and flesh. 13. *five* om. 14. keepers. They would not allow. 18. do: so the allowance of this good soldier and champion of Jesus Christ was bread of affliction and water of affliction. His.

angry brother Esau) in the fields of Bethel, which after lost its name and was called Bethaven, the house of ini

107. Thus these prisoners of hope, turning them continually to the strong hold by prayers and supplicatic faith and patience possessed their souls, being made part of Christ's sufferings; not suffering as evil doers, but as tians, were not ashamed, but glorified God on this with boldness, as allwaies, so now also, that Christ shou magnified in their bodies, whether it were by life or as the apostle speaks. Yea with all the apostles, the joiced that they were counted worthy to suffer sham Christ's name. Whosoever had known this worthy pat in his afflictions, might have thought him to have bee angel of the church of Smyrna, to whom our Lord writes from heaven, *I know thy works and tribulation and po but thou art rich;* for he was rich indeed in faith and works, and took joyfully the spoiling of his goods, kn in himself that he had in heaven a better and conti substance, where his treasure was, and might truly say the man after God's own heart, *the bands of wicked men robbed me, but I have not forgot Thy law;* and again: *t and anguish have taken hold upon me, yet Thy command are my delight;* and therefore Christ proceeds in sayi him; *Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer hold the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye be tried, and ye shall have tribulation ten daies.* This wa filled to him and his fellow-prisoners allmost in the letter of it; for he continued no longer in durance b the 7th of January, being committed the 18th d December.

108. On the gunpowder-treason-day he preached o whole 124 psalm: on which day he read every year i

1. Esau, that purposed to murther him. 4. rolling themselve God's arm, by faith. 7. ashamed of the crosse of Christ (which a follow Him must take up). 8. all boldness. 9. or by. 12. and to be made partakers of the afflictions of the Gospel accord the power of God. Whosoever. 13. might well. 16. towards G 18. better and enduring. 21. forgotten. 26. All this. 28—9. t 30. December before. 32—194 l. 5 *on which...&c.* om. The sal

pulpit the letter that came to him in St Edmund's Bury about the discovery of that horrid plot; and in his house to all that were with him a poetical dialogue written by him upon that occasion, betwixt certain shepheards, Perkin, Thenot &c. The Lords-day next after his commitment (which was the 19th of Decemb.) he preached upon Phil. iv. 4. 5. 6. 7. verses, being the epistle for the day. Upon Christmas day upon Galat. iv. 4. and 5. verses, and administred the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to his little flock (being one less than was in Noah's ark) the keeper having provided bread and wine. Upon the next Lord's-day (which was the 26 of Decemb.) Mr Bedel, my lord's eldest son who was minister of Kinally, preached upon Acts vii. 59. 60. being St Stephen's the protomartyr's day; and upon the Lord's-day following (being the 2nd of Jan.) the minister of Cavan preached upon Luc. ii. 33. 34. 35. the last sermon that was preacht there. So that you may see the goodness of God, as to Paul the prisoner and also the aged, so to this aged and reverend father, that tho' he were now an ambassador in bonds for Christ, yet the word of God was not bound. God had put such a restraint upon his enemies, that they did allwaies reverence and honour his person; that though he were (with Daniel) in the lions' den, yet he suffered none to disturb him nor to come near in the time of divine worship; as if God had sent his angel, and had stopped those lions' mouthes, that they should not hurt him nor his; forasmuch as before Him innocency was found in him, and before these men he had done no hurt, but more good than any of his place had ever done before him; which his very enemies of all orders did still profess unto him, that *they had no personal exception against him, nor hatred to him, but meerly national.*

109. The way of God's enlarging him was this. About this time the Scotts of the county of Cavan, having got to-

day next. 6. 19th day of December. 7. *verses* om. 7. *and* om. *verses* om. 10. were. ark), as he alwayes did in his prosperity to his greater flock upon that day; the keeper. 12. 26th of December. 13. vii. 5. 59. 60, on St. Stephen's day, which men call the. 14. *and* om. 15. January. 18. Luke. 19. though he suffered trouble as an evill doer, even unto bonds, and were. 21. *they* om. 23. now in. 24. us in tyme. 25. these.

gether at the very beginning of the rebellion, made head for their own defence against the murderers under the command of sir James Craig (that married the daughter of sir Moses Hill an old capt. of the Q.) and sir Francis Hamilton (that f. 85 married a daughter of that most famous and valiant knight, sir Charles Coot, who was slain by the rebells at the storming of Trim within 20 miles of Dublin). They had also another young Scottish knight called sir Arthur Forbes, son of that stout and gallant S. A. F. that was slain in Germany by sir Fred. Hamilton upon a petty difference about quarters. These had fortified, as well as they could in such a sudden straight, the castles of Tecrohen, where S. J. C. dwelt, and the castle of Keilach, where S. F. H. dwelt; there being but one mile of wooddy ground between them, and both within two miles of Clochwater-castle, where my L. of K. was prisoner; so that he could hear the report of any gun from either easily. The Scotts, having made hutts and cabins within and without the bain-walls and covered them with cow-hides, were safe from the present shock for a month or six weeks, but then straightly besieged. Whereupon they fixed all their sithes upon long poles, and being scarse of ammunition (tho' they had guns enough), they resolved to sally forth out of both their castles, and to make a resolute assault upon the enemies' camp in the night: which they did with such irresistible courage, that they made such foul work and havock amongst the enemies, that such persons as were not mangled with these terrible weapons or cut in pieces, were either taken alive, or forc'd to run away and leave their camp as it was. This valiant exploit and successfull adventure frightned the rebells so much, though they were ten to

2. defence and preservation. 3. a daughter. 4. captain of queen Elizabeth's. 6. Coote, that was. 9. sir Arthur Forbes. 10. Frederick. in a duel upon. 11. fortifyed for their lives, as. 12. Crocken. sir James Craig. and that of Keilah. 13. sir Frederick [?] Hamilton. 15. Clochwoter. lord of Kilmore. 16. that we. 17. Scotts and English. 20. but afterwards strictly. 21. fix. 21. very scarce. 24. enemy's camp in a frosty night. 24. did performe. 25. courage and good successe. 26. their enemies. not cutt in peses or mangled... weapons, were. 28. taken prisoners or. 29. and prosperous adventure. 30. frighted.

one, that they never offer'd to besiege them any more till the 15 day of June following; all the county being clearly theirs save these two small castles.

110. Now in this assault there were four principal leaders of the O'Roruicks taken prisoners, that had brought their forces out of the province of Connacht to this siege; whom the rebells desired to be exchanged for my L. of K., his two sons, and the minister of Cavan, which was accordingly performed the 7th day of Jan. The Scotts dismissed the four rebells, and they enlarged the four prisoners, and let them go free. Their promise was to send them safe to Dublin, but there was no faithfullness in their lips; they kept them in the countrey to make farther merchandize of them. Thus it pleased God to enlarge them, that never expected to be brought alive from that Tophet. But Mr Cullum and the good, rich carpenter were left there still, till the Scotts got them also off (as you shall hear). How sadly did they weep in parting with my lord, as Elisha was loath to part with his Elijah; the prison they esteemed a Paradise
f. 85 v°. while he was with them; fearing that they should see his face no more, nor hear a word of consolation from his mouth, whose heavenly doctrine did drop as the rain, whose speech did distill as the dew upon them, as the small rain upon the tender herb, as the showers upon the grass, as another Moses. And so it came to pass indeed; for they saw his face no more. My L. came to the house of the honest Irish minister, Donoch (in English Dennis) O-Sheridan, where his sons' wives were all the while of his imprisonment, that lived within a mile of K. and was my lord's tenant. There they were no better than free prisoners; they never durst be seen abrode.

111. This is now the last station between this faithfull

2. 15th. countrey. 3. saving. small holds. 5. men of. 7. lord of Kilmore. 9. on the. January. dismiss. 10. grand leading rebells. enlarge. 12. and they. 13. further. 17. Oh, how. 18. lord of Kilmore, as Paul's friends of Ephesus; as Elisha. 19. his dear. 24. like another. 25. indeed (as they feared). 26. lord. 27. minister, where his sonnes' wives remayned all the while of his imprisonment. His name is Denis O'Sheridin, that lived...Kilmore...tenant. There were they, no. 30. seene farr from the house, unles it were for recrea-

servant of the Lord in all his house and the land of promise: this is to him as mount Nebo, as the top of Pisgah was to Moses, whence he takes a full view of all that is beneath him in this world, of all things past, of all round about him and to be left behind him, and of all things that are above, where Christ sits at His Father's right hand; and with all speed makes hast to be dissolv'd and to be with Christ. Never man spent his small remnant of time better in holy meditations and heavenly preparations for death, in reference to himself and his few hearers. On the 9th day of Jan., being the Lord's day, he preached upon psalm xliv. a great part of the psalm. Next Lord's day, being the 16th, on psalm lxxix. *per totum;* and the next, being the 23rd, on psalm lxxi. from v. 15 *ad finem: O God thou hast taught me from my youth up &c.* insisting long on v. 17. And the last Lord's day of his pilgrimage save one on psalm cxliv. *per totum,* to usher him into his everlasting Sabbath that remains for the people of God. All these psalms were the first for their several appointed daies in the calendar, except the 71 psalm, from the 15th vers whereof he preached unto the end, observing a great fitness in it to express his present condition.

112. But in his last sermon that he preached on psalm cxliv., when he came to these words in the 7th v., *Send Thy*

tion. This. 3. *full* om. was. 4, 5. past in the whole course of his pilgrimage, of all things present and to be. 5. were. 6. hand, ready to embrace him and to say unto him: *Well done, thou good and faythfull servant,* &c. and with all. 8. Christ, as a bright starr in His right hand or shining in a golden candlestick, then to be clapt heere any more under a bushell. Never. 10. hearers in this his last month. 9th of January. 12. of the day. Next Sabbath. 13. *totum;* next Sabbath. 14. verse. *finem,* observing a great fitnes in it to express his present condition: *My mouth shall shew forth Thy righteousnes and Thy salvation all the day, for I know not the numbers thereof. I will goe in the strength of the Lord God, I will make mention of thy righteousnes, even of Thyne only: O Lord, Thou hast taught me from my youth, and hitherto have I declared Thy wondrous workes; now also when I am old and gray-headed, forsake me not* &c. 14, 15. *O God... v.* 17 om. 19. in the rubrick. 19—23. seventy-first. All the prayers of the church and appointed scriptures he read himselfe, though there were three ministers present with him. But. 24. verse.

hand from above, rid me and deliver me out of great waters, from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falshood; (which is repeated again v. 11. for the greater emphasis to enforce the former request): O with what ardency of spirit and heavenly affection did he send up these petitions to the God of his salvation, as if they had breathed from the soul of the first author of them; as if he had seen God's hand stretched forth, as Noah's towards the dove that found no rest for the sole of her foot, till he took her and pulled her (as it is in the Heb. *caused her to come in*) unto him into the
f. 86 r°. ark; or with Paul he had been raptured into the third heaven allready, and had heard and seen ἄρρητα ῥήματα *things unutterable;* or with St Stephen, he had seen the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God ready to receive his spirit; or as if with the two witnesses he had heard a voice from heaven, saying unto him (as to them upon the like account): *Come up hither.* His dwelling upon these words something longer than any other part of the psalm, with such holy expressions, sighes and groans, dissolv'd the eyes of all his hearers into a flood of tears; and all there took this extraordinary impulse of his spirit as a presage and signe of his approaching dissolution, as indeed it prov'd to be.

113. For the very next day after, it pleased the God of the spirits of all flesh to visit him with sickness (occasioned and contracted by a cold that he had taken in that sad prison), which upon Tuseday, being the first of Febr., appeared to be an ague, and his feet began to fail him. He took some physick, which brought a loosness. On the 4th day apprehending some symptoms of his sudden change, he

Thine. 4. verse. 8. them by a supernaturall metempsychosis; or as if. 11. or as. 13. *allready* om. 15. on the. 22. teares; amongst whom Mrs Dillon (whom I mentioned before) was one, who loved him unto death and had rather dyed with him then to abide (as she did now) in the tents of Kedar and tabernacle of wickednes and idolatry, as her house was at this tyme. She and all those present tooke. 23. infallible signe. 27. *that* om. 28. February. 30. physick (wherin also he had great knowledge) which. 31. change that would make him for ever

calls his children and their wives together unto him, and thus he began to speak unto them. *I am going the way of all flesh; I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. Knowing therefore that I must shortly put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shew'd me, I know also that if this my earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, I have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, a fair mansion in the new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God. Therefore to me to live is Christ and to die is gain, which encreaseth my desire even now to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better than to continue here in all the transitory, vain and false pleasures of this world, of which I have seen an end. Hearken therefore to the last words of your dying father: I am no more in this world, but ye are in the world; I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, through the allsufficient merits of Jesus Christ my Redeemer, who ever liveth to make intercession for me, who is a propitiation for all my sins, and washed me from them all in His own bloud; who is worthy to receive glory and honour and power, who hath created all things, and for whose pleasure they are and were created. My witness is in heaven and my record on high, that I have endeavoured to glorify God on earth in the ministry of the Gospel of His dear Son, which was committed to my trust. I have finished the works which He gave me to do, as a faithfull ambassadour of Christ and steward of the mysteries of God. I have not concealed the words of the Holy One; but the words that He* f. 86 v°. *gave to me, I have given to you and you have received them. I had a desire and resolution to walk before God (in every station of my pilgrimage from my youth up to this day) in*

unchangeable. 1. *together* om. 2. thus from his sick bed he. 7. that I. 8. *made* om. 14. unto. 26. work. 27. God. I have preached righteousnes in the great congregation: lo I have not refrayned my lips, O Lord, Thou knowest. I have not hid Thy righteousnes within my hart, I have declared Thy faythfulnes and Thy salvation; I have not concealed Thy loving-kindnes and Thy truth from the great congregation of mankind. He is neer that justifyeth me, that I have not. 29. ye have.

truth and with an upright heart, and to do that which was upright in His eies to the utmost of my power. And what things were gain to me formerly, these things I count now loss for Christ: yea doubtless and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord, for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ and be found in Him, not having mine own righteousness which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith; that I may know Him and the power of His resurrection and the fellowship of His sufferings, being made conformable unto His death. I press therefore towards the mark for the price of the high calling of God in Jesus Christ. Let nothing separate you from the love of Christ, neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword. Though (as ye see and hear) for His sake we are killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter; yet in all these things we are more than conquerours through Him that loved us. For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any creature shall be able to separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus my Lord. Therefore love not the world, nor the things of the world; but prepare daily and hourly for death (that now besiegeth us on every side) and be faithfull unto death; that we may meet together joyfully on the right hand of Christ at the last day, and follow the Lamb whethersoever he goeth, with all those that are cloathed with white robes in signe of innocency, and palms in their hands in signe of victory; which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes and made them white in the bloud of the Lamb. They shall hunger no more, nor thirst; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat; for the Lamb that is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters, and shall wipe away all tears from their eies. Choose rather with Moses to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season, which will be bitterness in the

8. my. 9. of the fayth. 16. yow heare and see. 20. angel. 23. Jesu. 25. besiedges. 33. or.

later end. Look therefore for sufferings and to be made partakers of the sufferings of Christ, to fill up that which is behind of the affliction of Christ in your flesh for His bodie's sake, which is the church What can you look for but one woe f. 87 r°. *after another, while the man of sin is suffer'd to rage and to make havock of God's people at his pleasure? while men are divided about trifles, that ought to have been more vigilant over us, and carefull of those whose bloud is precious in God's sight, tho' now shed everywhere like water? If ye suffer for righteousness, happy are ye. Be not affraid of their terrors, neither be ye troubled; in nothing terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you it is given in the behalf of Christ not onely to believe on Him, but also to suffer for His sake. Rejoice therefore, in as much as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when His glory shall be revealed, ye may be glad also with exceeding joy. And if ye be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye; the spirit of glory and of Christ resteth on you. On their part He is evil-spoken of, but on your part He is glorified. God will surely visit you in due time, and return your captivity as the rivers of the south, and bring you back again unto your possessions in this land; tho' now for a season (if need be) ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations; though now ye sow in tears, yet ye shall reap in joy; all your losses shall be recompensed with abundant advantages; for my God will supply all your needs according to His riches in glory by Jesus Christ, who is able to do exceeding abundantly for us above all that we are able to ask or think.*

114. Having thus spoken from the Spirit of God within him, he blessed all his children and those that stood by him with an audible voice in these words: *God of His infinite mercy bless you all, and present you holy and unblameable and unreproovable in His sight, that we may meet together at the right hand of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Amen.* Afterwards he utter'd these words: *I have fought a good fight, I have finished the*

1. latter. dayly made. 5. is thus. 11. and in. 13. *it* om. 24, 25. *though...tears* follows *yet...joy.* 27. need. 35. Lord and Saviour.

course of my ministery and life together. Though grievous wolves have entred in among us, not sparing the flock, yet I trust the great Shepheard of His flock will save His flock, and deliver them out of all places where they have been scattered in this cloudy and dark day; that they shall no more be a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beasts of the land devour them; but they shall dwell safely and none shall make them affraid. O Lord, I have waited for Thy salvation. Afterwards these words: *I have kept the faith once given to the saints; for the which cause I have also suffered these things: but I am not* f. 87 v°. *ashamed, for I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed to Him against that day.*

Febr. 7, 1641. 115. As his weakness increased, his speech failed; he taking little or no food till the 7th day of Febr.: yet he continued well composed in his spirit, being full of serenity of spirit in all his trialls and temptations that befell him; as assur'd of God's love and resolving silently to submit unto the good pleasure of God. He was much inclined to sleep, and slumbred out the most of his time, till about midnight, when he fell asleep in Jesus, with whom he is now in glory, with all the holy ones and blessed martyrs of Jesus. And thus you see how within one week after his last heavenly sermon, having shewed invincible courage under so sad and great a change in church and state, he departs in peace from the tumultuous uproars of this turbulent world, and according to his desire and expectation enters into his Master's joy more than conquerour, to receive the crown of immortality and eternal felicity with all those that die in the Lord. No man lived more desired, nor died more lamented, by all that knew him in the Lord. We esteemed him the breath of our nostrils in our captivity; and had a greater desire to have died with him (as the disciples with Lazarus) than to have lived without him: who being deliver'd so lately, as Jeremiah out of the dungeon, and as Daniel out of the lions'

4. will deliver. 5. be no more. 11. I am. 14. failed, and. 15. February, he continued. 17. him and assurances of. 18. *and* om. 19. *much* om. 20. *the* om. 22. Jesus; where we leave him, till God fitt us to come where he is. And thus. 24. great and sad. 27. earnest expectation. 32. as great. 33. then

den, was so suddenly snatcht away from us; of whom the world was not worthy at the best. As Augustine died in the 3rd month of the siege of Hippo by the Vandalls, that had overun all Africk with Arrian cruelty, as the poor Akeldama of Ireland is now with popish cruelty; so this worthy angel of the church was taken away in the 3rd month of our captivity.

116. What was said of Moses, Caleb, and Joshua was true of him: *his eie was not dim, nor his natural force abated;* having never used spectacle, nor lost one tooth, nor any decay of his hair, save in the colour (his gray hairs, being found in the way of righteousness, were as a crown to him), and a little deafness in his left ear, occasion'd by a hurt in his childhood. His judgement was not decaied in the least, but rather authorized with age, having allwaies in readiness wonderfull ability to discourse, to pray, to preach, to write, to dispute, to comfort, and at last to die. He was never languishing, and mouldy or reasty through want of emploiment, but allwaies active and bringing forth something for the common good of the church of God.

to live. 1. from the evil to come and caught up into heaven from us. 2. And as St. 4. who had overrun. 5. *worthy* om. 6. church of Ireland. 10. only he had some kind of deafnes in his left eare, occasioned by a fall downe stayres in his cheildhood. I remember that walking abroad with him and his two sonnes, the weeke before he sicknod, in returning back he leapt so nimbly and vigurously over a broad ditch, that amazed us all and putt us to a stand to follow him. He never. 13, 14. *and...childhood* om. his beard long and broad: I never knew any razor to pass upon his face, which was bewtifyed with more majesty and gravity then my tongue can expresse. His. 16. discourse in any argument of things divine or humane; to pray (which he alwayes did in his house without booke); to preach (which he alwayes did without notes, charging his memory with his meditations and afterwards discharging them into writting); to write. 19. active in. 20. God. Answerable to his profound judgement was his great zeal for the truth against popery. The letter that came to him from London, when he was preacher at St. Edmondsbury in Suffolk, about the discovery of the hellish powder-plott with all the circumstances of it, he read annually upon that day (being the fifth of November) all the yeares of his lyfe in the pulpit before sermon, ere ever he read his text. It was well penned; if I had it, I would set it downe heere. And after supper he constantly read on the same day an excellent poem which he

f. 88 r°. 117. We obteined leave (with much ado) to bury him in his own church-yard by his wife, which was denied awhile by his popish (or rather paganish) intruder and despoiler; who said, *the church-yard was no more to be polluted with hereticks' bodies.* Thus did these barbarous and ungratefull miscreants requite this dear servant of the Lord, who sought their good, and did them more good (even to the hazard of his own quiet and reputation) than all that ever were before him in that see. They would scarce allow him a place to lay his head on when he was alive, and now they will hardly allow him a place for his dead body to lie in, (as right officers of that great city which is spiritually called Sodom and Egypt, where our Lord is daily crucified, that would not
Apoc. 11. 9. suffer the dead bodies of the two witnesses to be put in grave for 3 daies and a half): who, even as Abraham amongst the sons of Heth, would have received this answer
Gen. 23. 6. to such a request: *Hear us, my lord, thou art a mighty prince amongst us; in the choice of our sepulchres bury thy dead; none of us shall withold from thee his sepulchre, but that thou maiest bury thy dead.*

118. Mr Sheridan and I went to Kilmore about my lord's burial, to speak with the popish usurper, bishop Swyny. As his name is, so is he. We found him lying upon a bolster so drunk with *usque-bagh* (having defiled all the room with his swinishness), that when Mr Dillon came in and kneeled before him for his blessing (as the popish manner is) he was not able to stretch forth his hand towards him; but a friar that stood by took up his drunken hand and laid it upon the popish head that came to assist us in our request, being per-

wrote at that tyme upon that discovery, and called *The Shepherd's Tale*, being a poeticall dialogue betweene certayne shepherds concerning that plott. It is conceived in the old dialect of Tusser and Chauser, beeing two or three sheets of paper. I have no tyme to set it downe now; but heerafter yow may see it with his Latin letters to Mr John Dury, about the pacification of the reformed churches, which are learned and large. [Then follows in H. ch. 118]. 2. his deir consort. 4. said to us at first. *defyled.* 5. *and* om. 6. *dear* om. Lord evill for good, who. 8. *were* om. 11. *him* om. 15. that, even with. 17. pious request. 18. *with us.* 21. Minister Sheridin (the minister in whose house he dyed) and I. 24. usque-bea. 25. his filthines. 26. *for*

suaded thereunto by his good wife. *Quantum mutatus ab illo,* that was there before him! as Jehoram, from Jehoshaphat and Manasseh from Hezekiah. There was nothing now to be seen in this our Elijah's school of the prophets, but *ziim, iim,* and *ochim,* those dolefull creatures which Isaiah foretells should be inhabitants of Babylon, after all the evil they had done in Zion. This is the man that offered himself for our guard, as before. The admittance of this filthy beast had been like the conjunction of Mezentius the tyrant of the living and the dead. He had a name to be alive but was dead. His licence we obteined at last for my lord's burial. So on the 9th day of Febr. he was laid in grave according to his desire in his last will and testament, hard by his wife's coffin.

119. The chief of the rebells assembled their forces together and accompanied the corps from Mr Sheridan's house to the churchyard in a great solemnity, and desired A. C. the minister of Cavan to perform the office for the dead according to our manner in former times, and promised not to interrupt in the least. But we being surrounded with armed f. 88 v°.
men, esteemed it more prudent to bury him as all the patriarchs, prophets, Christ and His apostles, and all the saints and martyrs in former ages were, than to attempt such a hazardous and needless office at such a time (and sacrifice for the dead as they call it) in the presence of these Egyptians. But instead thereof they gave him a volley of shot and said: *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum!* For they had told him at their first rising, that *he should be the last English man that should be put out of Ireland;* because he

his blessing om. as their. 1. thereto. 2. Jehoshaphat or. 4. [Tanner MS. reads *or* for *our*]. *Elijah's* om. 6. be the. that they. 7. Zion. This house of prayer is now become a den of theeves, a cage of every unclean and hatefull bird. This. 8. guard; that had a name to be alive, but was dead; the admittance. 10. with the dead; whose licence we obtained at last for my lord's buriall (though with much adoe), to bury [as in ch. 117]. 12. February 164¼. 14. coffin, that had been layd there four yeares before. 15. Irish rebells gathered. 16. Sheridin's. 17. of Kilmore in. Alexander Clogy. 22. *the* om. 23. *to* om. 24—25. hazardous office (and sacrifice for the dead, as they call it) and needless at such a tyme in the. 25. those. 27. said with a loud voice.

was styled *ultimus et optimus episcorum* by men of understanding.

120. In his desk his last will and testament was found (which he wrote over once a year). Wherein, after a divine preface and short confession of his faith, referring himself to his preaching and writings, he concludes with that of Paul to Timothy: *I know whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed to Him against that day.* And then having disposed of his estate in England and Ireland, he leaves to the library of Immanuel colledge in Cambridge (where he was bred) the rare Hebrew MS. mentioned before; and to Dr Usher, bishop of Armagh, the primate of Ireland, a Latin psalter written 500 years before, in the Saxon character, which is the pre-

1. *ultimus...episcoporum* follows *understanding.* As he gave many evidences of rare gifts and graces bestowed upon him above ordinary measure, so his humility wherewith he was clothed was apparent in this, touching the desyre he had about his funerall (had he dyed in prosperity), of remooval of all superfluous apparences, as even to the entombing of his body in the church-yard, whether he would exercise modesty or moderation, not in his lyfe only, but in (yea after) his death; as he would taxe a somewhat great forwardnes or weake, if not superstitious, desyre, some have that way; as if it concerned the dead anywhit whether they be layd in church or chancell or church-yard. Verily as for them it is all one; and as soone shall the bodies ryse that be in the sea as the land, and of them that be in the land, that are in one place, as another: and as for those that are left alive, perhaps it were more wholesome and convenient, if (as in some places which this worthy father had seene beyond sea) sepulchres were all utterly remooved out of churches and townes too, then by their frequency and often opening the earth (where great congregations are, as in many places) to bring annoyance to the living; yea and somewhat more then that, to discover and teare up by the streightnes sometymes the dead corps of our dearest relations, ere they be returned to their dust. Allow me, I beseech yow (whosoever readeth this narrative) this much plea, because this noble patriarch was resolved and contented to take up his lodging for his body where none had beene layd before, till the heavens be no more, and till he heare the voyce of the Son of Man, making his corruptible to put on incorruption, and his mortall to put on immortality, and what is sowne in dishonour and weaknes to be raysed in power and glory. 5. and referring. 12. Hebrew manuscript of the Old Testament before mentioned, and. 13. archbishop of Ardmach. 14. above five hundred yeares agoe.

sent Irish character in all their prints and writings at this day. It was as fair and legible as it was at first; the first letter of each psalm being gold of an inch and a halfe square, the goodliest that had been seen in any elder age. He appointed his body to be laid, where by God's providence it now lies waiting for a joifull resurrection, and on his gravestone these words to be written: *Depositum Gulielmi quondam episcopi Kilmorensis;* which (if ever God grant peace) will be performed. These particulars onely I can call to mind, having never seen it but once, but if I had it, I would set it down *verbatim*, it being one of the most Christian accounts given of the world that ever I did see in any former will and testament.

121. His library, which was of greatest value of all his goods, the rebells had with all the rest, wherein were many monuments of great antiquity; amongst the rest, the records of the abbey of St Edmunds-Bury, and many manuscripts that he had brought out of Italy. But the greatest loss (next to that of himself) was of his own writings upon the Scriptures; which any man of understanding would have chosen before all the commentaries of the fathers or most of their children that followed them. The Greekes having no Hebrew, and the Latins neither Hebrew nor Greek, have made sad expositions of Scriptures, following a false vulgar out of a false 72; which this learned and great divine did easily discover; for being fully acquainted with the originals f. 89 r°. (as any in our age), he did never need a spectacle to look through into the true and genuine sense and meaning of the H. Ghost in the Scriptures; but went still to the fountain

1. writtings and prints. 3. psalme of an inch square and guilded with gold, the goodliest. 4. older. He ordered. 7. engraven. 8—9 which I doubt not but is performed by his sonnes. 12. I saw. 18. Italy. He had bought Mr William Perkins his studdy of bookes, and to the publishing of some of his workes after his death he was very instrumentall, as I have seene in the severall letters betweene him and Dr Warde concerning them; in one of which, dedicated to the king and presented to his majesty by Dr Ward, is a desyre that the king would be pleased to set some divines apart for controversyes. But the. 19. that of his. 20. a man. 21. preferred to and chosen. 22. their sonnes. 26. *for* om. 27. *he* om. 27. use a. 29. Holy. 29. fountayne of Israel,

of truth, to draw water for the sanctuary to refresh the city of God, *non ex caeno, sed ex fonte Israel.* It's a true saying of Beza and Mercerus: *Hebraismorum ignorantiam horrendos errores in ecclesiam invexisse.*

122. There is a learned sermon of his extant upon Revel. xviii. 4: *And I heard another voice from heaven saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues.* This sermon was preached in Christ Church, Dublin, 1634, before sir Thomas Wentworth the L. deputy and parliament. The occasion of his giving a copy of it was at the request of a great papist, to shew it to some learned men of his own religion, because it demonstrates and maintains unanswerably, that the present monarchy, which the church of Rome claims to exercise over the Christian world, is the mystical Babilon, out of which God's people are called. D. Bernard meeting with some imperfect copy (whereof there were many in Essex) published it in the year 1659 with the concurrent judgement of the most learned primate of Armach in that point. It's pity it was not rightly printed, having in it such evidence of truth, which all the popish adversaries are not able to gainsay or resist. He had got such knowledge of the methods and stratagems of the church of Rome, by being so long in Italy with the English ambassadour sir H. W., and conversing so intimately with P. Paulo that great divine and polititian, that no man living could give an exacter account of their damnable and destructive waies; which he and this poor kingdom of Ireland hath now found true by sad experience.

123. He was wont to say to those that knew nothing of their religion but the mass (of which most understood not a

the living spring of. 2. *Israel*, as Padre Paulo said and wrote of him. *Its...Mercerus* om. *Ignorantiam Hebraismorum.* 4. *invexisse*, sayth Beza and Mercerus. 9. Christ's. *anno* 1634. the lord deputy, sir Thomas Wentworth, and parliament. 12. have showne. 16. called. But they never medled with it, to say anything against it, to this day. Dr. 18. Essex and elsewhere. 20. great pitty. 24. Henry Wotton. 25. Padre Paulo. 27. destructive and damnable wayes towards mankind. 31. most of them understand.

word), "That the mass was no more the worship of God then the barking of doggs;" and of their innumerable and phantasticall ceremonyes, which they so much gloryed in, "That they were not worth one cup of cold water given to a disciple in the name of a disciple, which shall not loose its reward (much less one drop of blood to be shed for them);" therefore is he now drinking of the water of lyfe freely. That saying of Augustine was much in his mouth, when he heard of any violent proceedings for or against ceremonyes: *Hæc sunt folia, fructus quæro;* and therefore is now eating of the fruit of the tree of lyfe, that is in the midst of the Paradise of God. As the land of Zabulon and Napthaly, that were most oppressed by Jabin and the Midianites were most rude and ignorant when Christ came, insomuch that it was no small imputation to Christ to have beene of Galilee, "whence arose no prophet," the calamity by Ashur never thoroughly outworne untill Christ came to bring spirituall light; so of all the parts of the Christian territoryes, Ireland being most rude and ignorant, it was the greatest imputation to this His dear servant, that in imitation of his Lord and Master, he sought by the Scriptures translated into Irish, to open their eyes and awake them, to come to this light, and to walke in it, and that speedily, least the darknes come wherin no man can walke. As Christ, the true light, did choose to teach and to do His mighty workes in Galilee of the Gentills, and to deliver them, as they were of old from Jabin and the Midianits; so the cicuration and reformation of the wild Irish, and their deliverance from the tyranny of popery, was the cheefe desire and designe of this His faythfull servant, all the dayes of his lyfe amongst them.

124. That which Tacitus relates of Thraseas, *dictus lumen Romani imperii orbis, et ipsa virtus*, when Nero (the Pope's predicessor) sent to murther him, that he was found discoursing with Dēmetrius, a philosopher, *de natura animæ, et dissociatione spiritus inquirebat*, may well be applyed to this holy father and blessed bishop: That he was *lumen christiani orbis, et ipsa religio*, in all his tryalls and temptations that befell him, former actings and present sufferings; for whom the very Irish rebells, the worst of men, had such

veneration at last as to sollemnize his exequies, which they never did to any other person of God's religion; as if they had *ipso facto* acknowledged, that he was learnder then all their fathers, holyer then all their popish saints, chaster then all their muncks and nuns, more beneficiall to them then all their idolized patrons, more to be desyred by them then all their confessours, and to be loved and lamented then all their teachers and leaders.

125. If I durst vent my thoughts concerning this man of God, without offence of God and good men, I would for conclusion say this of him, that if God had spoken to Sathan concerning him, as once He did concerning Job, He would or might have used the same expression: "*Hast thou considered (or, hast thou set thine hart on) this My servant, that there is none like him in all the earth, a perfect and upright man, one that feareth God and escheweth evill?*"

126. This faythfull and affectionate account (though infinitely beneath his merit) I hope may be taken in good part from one, that (under God) oweth more to his sacred memory then to all the world besides, yea, himselfe also, as St. Paul speaks to Philemon, whom therefore I have mentioned with honor and thankfulnes.

127. You may perhaps desyre also to know what became of his children after his death, and that litle flock and small remnant that had escaped the fury of the adversary. As to their bodyes, though they had nothing left besides their lives, which God alwayes preserved as sacred and unviolable (as He did Job's) after his departure, as before: Indeede, they were mervellously sanctuaryed in the midst of their enemyes; for they continued at Mr. Sheridin's house untill the 15th day of June following, waiting for the Lord's deliverance and the service of God was kept up in that family by Mr. Bedel, who preached on *Psalm* xxx, and by Alexander Clogy, the minister of Cavan, who preached on *Psalm* cii, all that wearisome tyme. We hoped still, that if there were any English or Scotts in the world we might have beene relieved by that tyme; but nothing was done for us; the inraging and cruel jealousyes betweene the king and Parliament of England, *tristia condere bella*, breaking out into open warrs (in all parts) *mœstos habitura triumphos*.

128. The way of God's enlarging of us at last was this: The Scotts that had stood upon their owne defence in two small castles (as I told yow before) being wearyed with vain expectation of reliefe from England or Scotland (that began to ruine themselves apace, as we in Ireland, by the common enemy of both, were ruined already), their small store of ammunition being drained, were at length begirt by all the forces the enemy could draw together from the provinces of Ulster and Conaght; so that all their forrage was cutt off, and possibility of making any sallyes into the enemy's camp, as they had done prosperously in the former siedge. They were sore straitened with famine and sicknes for want of roome and outward accommodation (for nine score dyed in one castle in a few weekes, Sir James Craig and his lady both dyed and left no issue behind them), at last were necessitated to submit to such termes as they could obtayne from an absurd and merciless enemy, whom they could resist no longer, unless upon a desperate sally to hazard all that remnant that had escaped for eight monthes to that day. So the faythless enemy, that never gave quarter to any before that had made any resistance unto them, but had used all manner of cruelty towards them, gave quarter to the Scotts and English (for feare more than love), to march out of their castles and hutts with some armes, and with all their mooveable goods that they could conveniently carry away with them, by horse or cart towards Dublin, that was fifty miles distant, and nothing left by the way, but destruction and desolation; Cavan, Virginia, Kells, Navan, Dunshocklin, Slany, Tarah, Swords, all ruinous heaps, and no inhabitant left in that rich tract of land, which was a woeful spectacle.

129. In this transaction, my Lord of Kilmore's children, with the minister of Cavan, Mr. Arthur Cullum, with Mr. Castledyne (that were prisoners with my Lord of Kilmore in Clockwoter Castle) and others, were particularly included and named. So, on the 15th day of June, 1642, in the eighth month after the Rebellion, we marched away above 1200 men, women, and children, after they had eaten the cowes' hydes that had covered their cabbins and hutts,

from Christmas till June: A sad company of poore people we were, as ever were seene together; some loaden with children, some great with cheild, some two children on their backs, many with two little ones in their armes, yet all rejoycing in the Lord for our enlargement at last. About 2000 rebells accompanying us for our lyfe-guard, according to the articles of our agreement, which were written by Archdeacon Pryce (before mentioned), but now Archbishop of Cashill. The Scotts had about 300 horse, some of them well appointed, for our guard also, under the conduct of Sir Francis Hamilton and Sir Arthur Forbes. Major Bayly had his foote-company of Scotts, that lay at Cavan, and had made their escape in the night to those two castles, with all their armes of the trayned-band with them.

130. The countey had orders to bring us provision for money, as was artickled, which they did in great plenty. Though there were many plotts to cutt us off by the way (as against the 10,000 Greekes in Zenophon, that retreated into their owne countrey through many barbarous nations, after the overthrow of Cyrus), yet the Lord of Hostes was with us, and his glory did shyne over us, as in a cloud by day and a fyre by night, for our defence, and restrayned their malice, and brought forth this little flock, as his great flock under the conduct of the Great Shepherd out of Egipt of old, through scorpions and fiery-flying serpents with his mighty hand and outstretched arm: To Him be glory for ever!

131. The first day, being Wednesday June the 15th, we marched to Cavan, seven miles; the 16th day we encamped at Lara 5 miles; the 17th at Corinary 7 miles; the 18th to a mountaine beyond Pierce four miles; the 19th we pitched at Mr. Dilwin's house, three miles; on the 20th day we lay in the same place; the 21st day we marched six miles; on the 22nd day of June, Sir Henry Titchborne, the governor of Drogheda, with Captain Gibson met us with a party of horse and foote within ten myles of his garison of Drogheda, and conducted us safely thither by the good hand of our God upon us.

132. The rebells that conducted us tooke sollemne leave

of us, being sore afrayed at the sight of our English forces; they hasted away, having kept us seven nights in the open fields, without anything under or over us, but what each of us carryed about us; yet they offered us no violence, save in the night, when our men were weary without continuall watchings, they would steale away a good horse and run away, but were very civill to us all the way, and many of them wept at our parting from them that had lived so long peaceably amongst them, as if we had beene one people with them.

133. From Drogheda some tooke shipping and went for England, as my Lord of Kilmore's sonnes, and others that had freinds there. His eldest sonne, Mr. Bedell, was made minister of Rattlesden, in Suffolk; his younger son, Mr. Ambrose Bedell, returned speedily into Ireland, and was a captaine in Col. Hill's regiment, who was his wyve's uncle, for whom my lord, his father, purchased a good estate of one Mr. Baxter, a minister, where he now lives a justice of peace.

134. Most of our poore pillaged company came towards Dublin, a poore exhausted city of refuge, which was neytheir able to lodge us, nor to relieve us with things necessary, thowsands dying every weeke, being pierced through for want of the fruits of the earth, as is at large set forth in the booke of Dr. Jones, Deane of Kilmore, who wrote the history of the horrid Rebellion; and also by Sir John Temple, a worthy and honorable privy councillor, before and after that calamity.

THE END.

LETTERS.

I.

W. Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward[1]*, justifying his theoretical teaching in the matter of ceremonies;* Oct. 16, 1604.

[Tanner MSS LXXV. f. 126.]

Salutem in Christo. Mr Warde, I receiued the last weeke your letters, though I differred mine answer, till I should receiue those sheetes of myne answer which you promised to retourne by Sir Edw. Lewknors man: but as it seemes you altered your purpose he deliuered me the money 3*li.* 10*s.* As for having the copy, I cannot satisfie your desire, for it must be his that wrote it out of my first draught, which is Mr Bulwer one of our Ministers. For your censure, I desire to haue it, though by reason of your delay it will come too late to correct aught in my copy, to be giuen them except there be very great cause. I could none otherwise choose but write so discoursingly, if I would not leaue the matters raw and undigested, and yet if I had beene sure of answer I would haue rather dealt in propositions. But I purpose to make this offer, that if they will contract their reply, I will contract my answer. Indeede I am much more large in the other demandes then this, and therfore if you blame this for too long, I am affrayd you will say that they are too too long. For the *pointes necessary to salvation*, I think they be all in the Creede, though perhaps there be more than are necessary, if euery worde that hath a distinct notion must constitute a distinct proposition: for example *Pontius Pilate*, if it must make this sence *he suffered* to be particularized againe vnto the *very president vnder whom*, which is no way of necessity to salvation but of fulnes of the narration. I think with you that fundamentall pointes since Christs coming are the same, and cannot be changed: of this point I doe in few wordes speake in the 2d Demande. For your objection of *the Apostles ignorance of the death and*

[1] Samuel Ward, D.D., a fellow of Emmanuel College, and afterwards Master of Sidney Sussex, from 1623 to his death in 1643, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. He was one of the Revisers to whom the Authorised Version of the Bible (1611) is due, and was one of the English representatives at the Synod of Dort.

resurrection of Christ, it was before the perfect instruction which they receiued concerning the Fayth to be published in the world, till which tyme I thinke the same were not of absolute necessity to salvation. And euen then I doubt also, whether such as Cornelius or those that were baptized by John's Baptisme, as they in Acts 19 (1—5) were, had died in state of damnation, if they had not so beleeued.

Touching Mr Baynes his place, I doe not desire it in many respectes; besides, the vncertainty of Stipend, a new subscription would be vrged, and I should haue I feare as litle tyme as now to goe to my booke. I confesse only the desire of the society which you and I were wont to haue, and the vniuersity, doth somewhat mooue me. Concerning the ceremonies I viewed Vrsinus, pag. 150 and 151 of Pareus edition[1], and I perceiue how he makes human civill lawes to binde the conscience, *extra casum scandali*, but not Ecclesiasticall. I confesse I doubt of the difference and of both the partes, for example whether if a magistrate doe forbid wearing armes he sinnes that does it without scandall. And againe why more than he that weares not a surplice being so commanded. But in our case that matters not at all, sith the same thing is commanded by the Bishopes and the Magistrate; so now the Ceremonyes have force from them both. In which case, me thinkes, if this commandement be not contrary to the Law of God, there is obedience to be yielded, nor only for feare but for conscience sake, as the Apostle speakes. Where you say that *if good order be kept it is lawfull for a man to use his liberty*, I demand who shall judge whether good order be kept or no? And if the Magistrates authority restraine not *the use* of liberty what doth worke upon thinges indifferent at all? I confesse, if there were *forgetfulnes* or *any just and sufficient morall reason* which should draw me to breake that law, I haue not sinned against God,—wherein I take their not binding of the conscience to consist,—be they Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill, in thinges indifferent I meane; but that *some will take exception to such obedience* can not be such a reason, since they know the pleasure of the Magistrate is such: and the curing of their opinion is that which the Magistrate intendes. As for relinquishing the Ministry, if nothing impious be required at our handes, I dare not approve it for all the inconveniencies in the world: sith both to Minister and people that which is so necessary should methinkes swallow all inexpediencies. As for *scandall*, it shalbe taken not given if I doe by virtue of the authority of another, and under the obedience of the 5th comandement, that which he is grieved at, and (which he knoweth right well) with no minde so to doe, nor proude cover of my knowledge and liberty. And thus I write to you in private. But as for my publicke preaching it hath bene never of these matters: save in one sentence as

[1] Zachary Ursinus, Breslau (1534—1583), p. 514 (ed. 1616). *Iubet deus oboedire.....praeceptis politicis ex hominum authoritate pendentibus, non quidem cultus divini causa sed tamen propter conscientiam, ecclesiasticis sive caeremonialibus, neque cultus, neque conscientiae, sed scandali vitandi causa.*

I will shewe by and by. I haue not willingly entered into these pointes, but haue beene enforced by the Scripture which I handled,—2 Col.: *why are ye burthened with traditions*[1]. Where the Apostle seeming to make it lawfull for the Colossians to reject such burthens, I resolved that doubt if they might. And answered that this might be intended to the rulers of that Church which were too remisse and too ready to receiue such ceremonyes. But if it be meant of euery inferiour, then it is to be rememberred he speakes of such Traditions as were 'will worships[2],' wherin holynes (at least), if not part of Justification, was put. Otherwise if they were not taynted with superstition, as opinion of worship, meritt, satisfaction, necessity, (whether to the kingdome of heauen, or the being of such partes of Gods worship wherin they were used) they might be, yea ought to be, yielded vnto if the Magistrate and Church governors commanded them by those rules *Obey those that haue the oversight of you: Let euery soule be subject to the higher powers*[3]; yet might the inferior by all lawfull meanes seeke to enjoy his liberty. And amongest other *protesting for it* that he doth desire to doe otherwise rather then so, but for obedience sake, &c. And this course especially, seemes necessary if the Magistrate should require a Minister to doe something without which he could not be suffered to exercise his Ministry. In which case, the preaching of the Gospell should sway more, then all our desire of euen our owne liberty. *Salus populi suprema lex.* This was the summe of my speach and as I thinck not in many wordes more, wherin though I confesse I giue some light how to doe in case these Ceremonies be founde untaynted with superstition yet doe I in the meane tyme not excuse them of it, nor say any thing what is to be done in our particular present case. Once only (as before I sayd) I spake of them thus. In my sermon before our Byshop, my text being out of Gen. 13, 8 let *there be I pray thee no contention betweene thee and me* &c., where having largely entreated and complained of contentions in the Church, and that since the beginning of it presently after Christes and the Apostles departure out of the world, and having handled also Abraham's reason dissuasiue (*we are bretheren*), I touched our contentions where I sayd I would not go so farre as to wish with the Poet *Vtinam ne in Pelio nemore*[4]— would God they had neuer beene left to be an Apple of dissention among us &c.: nor (that wherof though I did see litle hope for the present, yet for future tyme it was not impossible) that God would put into the heart of the Kinges Majesty, and of the Reuerend Fathers the Governors of our Church to remooue them: That I would desire, that my bretheren the Ministers who had stood out against them, would euen take some burden

[1] *Colossians* 2, 20, Why, as though living in the flesh, are ye subject to ordinances? δογματίζεσθε, Vulg. *decernitis.*]

[2] *ib.* 'which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will-worship.'

[3] Hebr. xiii. 16; Rom. xiii. 1.

[4] *Utinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus*
Caesa accidisset abiegna ad terram trabes.
Translation of Euripides' *Medea* by Ennius. Cic. ad Heren. 2 § 34.

upon them and *pro bono pacis*, rather than depriue the Church of the fruite, and themselues of the comfort of their Ministry, and doe that willingly which they must doe necessaryly. These were the very wordes, or sure I am the very sence, of that speech: and, saue in these sermons, I haue sayd nothing in publick. For in priuate I haue desired to heare all the arguments that I can, but neuer vndertooke to resolue any of all what so euer, for in truth my speach hath beene still, that if I may see reason I will stand out with them; otherwise I would we might all yeild and goe to gether. It is true that in some meetinges where by the Chiefe of our company I haue beene enforced to take the place of the respondent, I haue assayed to answer the contrary arguments. And, be it spoken betweene us, I doe not find any great difficulty so to doe: but if these men doe heerupon voice me for a patron and persuader to the Ceremonies they doe me wronge. This I say and this only, be they as absurd as they will by supposition, if they be not wicked, the solitude of the Churches is a greater absurdity and misery. Reade the Epistles of Melancthon in Pezelius 8th Tome, the title *de Scandalis*:[1] For Beza's ye know it. Yea, but *subscription!* For my part I neuer spake so much to any man as I doe to you now, but that which I will doe, I will subscribe to. Truth it is there be other thinges euen in the reformed booke subject to doubt; but when they will giue them all (as they will) a commodious interpretation, what reason haue I to be witty in anothers meaning against my selfe and not to giue it to their writinges, which I would to be giuen to mine owne? For my part also I take the terme *not repugnant to the worde of God*[2] to meane in the forme of subscription in matters of *substance*, and *directly* otherwise. I would be loath to subscribe that any writing of man is such. As for the reports spread of me let the spreaders of them see to it: I haue the testimony of my conscience that I seeke no worldly thinge but the glory of Christ, and the good of the Church, and according to my best vnderstanding I haue used (or at least endeauoured to vse) no course unseasonable for these times. But if concerning these matters, I had used to speake according to the conceit of some men, all had beene well and seasonable. I cannot so do. If I speake at all I must speake according to my persuasion. If I still professe not as modestly as I may, in such cases to prescribe to no man nor to be moved if other dissent from me, I appeale to my hearers. And yet, saue in the one '*wish*' before the Bishop, I haue spoken nothing which is not the constant doctrine of Melancthon, Beza, Martyr, yea Calvin himselfe. *Yea but they were strangers and saw not our estate.* As if they composed their doctrine touching ceremonies or indifferent thinges as prognosticators doe their

[1] In the 4th volume of the *Argumenta* of Christopher Pezelius the first Argumentum *de Scandalo* (Vol. 4, pp. 244—263) is by Melancthon.

[2] Articles of Religion, XXXIV, Whosoever through his private judgement, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly.

Almanackes for their owne Meridian only! Ah Mr Warde, God grant these men's rigor avayle not more to Popery than the others remissnes. But *we shall avayle more with standing out.* A likely matter, we shall without doubt in the twinckling of an eye, make him[1] revoke so many proclamations speaches and other publick and priuate testifications of his purpose in that behalfe, whom we see to be more vehement for these ceremonies then the Bishops themselves. But what if we were sure how the event would fall out, and we could by standing out further the cause: if that course be against duty we may not take it to a good end. Let vs do our duties according to the will of god, and hap what can. *Fiat justitia et ruat caelum*[2] as the Proverbe sayes. See whither I am carried in this argument; but this is to the end you might fully and truly know how I haue proceeded in this cause; and if neede be haue it *ut baculum defensionis meae*, as Gerson[3] speakes, if any say of me otherwise. See how hard it is to keepe an euen course: on the one side some blame me as a favourer of disorderly persons and, as I am told, some of our Bishops' attendants heare sayd my sermon was a seditious sermon and many like speeches, (I beleeue because I glancingly touched the disorders of under officers in pilling and polling, &c., and wished the names of Puritans and precisians cast to hell, that we might be knowne only by the name of Christians): whiles some other say I persuade to the Ceremonies; and not that only but report my general speeches as speciall, nay not mine as they make them but their owne. Thus it is, moderate courses are subject to the calumniations of both extreemes. But of these matters enough. I pray you send me that part of my answer which you haue and you shall haue the rest heereafter if you can haue leisure to read it.

For this bearer Mr Samwayes, in truth I take my selfe not so much beholding to your company as I had thought I should; nay as he without me, yea truly or any poore Tenant of the Colledges that neuer had seene Emanuell Colledge save that day wherin he had his lease granted, might haue beene. I meane for the renewing of the print of the Colledge seale. To omitt that, finally this may encourage him to maintaine your right and tytle, as he hath done with no small charge, but which would haue beene twise so much at the least to the Colledge. To say nothing that it is no peny detriment to you, nor profitt to him saue only the satisfaction of some more scrupulous than they haue cause. That which I haue heeretofore signified to our Master and sundry of the Company, that it was my fault alone (if improvidence be a fault) by the carieing of the writing betweene my Cassock and doublet wrapped up with leaues in a paper which defaced the seale,—I had thought it might haue speeded the suite: that I might haue had occasion by your liberality of making him amends. But, to use

[1] The King.

[2] The origin of this proverb is obscure. It does not seem to occur in any printed book before 1645.

[3] John Gerson (1363—1429) author of the 'Art to Die well' translated by Caxton.

this event as an occasion to draw him on to pay more money for the corne which he is to yeild you than he is bounde, is a course too base and sordid, so as I cannot persuade my selfe so ill of the company that you will take it[1]. I cannot supplicate for so meane a matter: if I should promise you thankes for it, it were too much. Pardon my stomack a litle. I know right well the blame is not in you, nor in some others: peraduenture in none of you all, at least as intending any way to gall me, but many stringes are not easily tuned. Another suite I haue to you or to my Cosin Aliston, which you shall perceiue by this letter enclosed: wherin *quod commodo vestro fieri possit*, I would desire you to doe, for the bearing only of the name of this subsiser, and if you cannot your selues yet procure some other of the fellowes vnto it, yet so moue this matter as no aduantage be taken against his possibility of hauing that place (which it seemes he hath promise of) by my relation. Truth it is I could haue wished such a place for Morly if he were worthy it; but I would euen for him take no aduantage against this petitioner. If you can doe ought heerin, send for the youth, and let him know of my writing, if not send me worde. And thus haue you a volume not a letter: but the longer it is, the more of yours shall it stand in account for, either to strike off the old score of my debt, or to make you my debtor. The Lorde blesse you and your society vnto whome remember me, specially to my Cosin. Bury St Edmundes.

This I cannot tell whether 15 or 16th day of October but if you follow the Romans' beginning of the day 16th 1604. Your loving freend

W. Bedell.

To my very good freend
Mr Samuel Warde
at Emmanuel Colledge.
Oct. 16, 1604.

Mr Newton requested me to send for Mr Doddes booke upon the Commandements and Mr Brightman upon the Revelation. I pray send them by this bearer and pay Burwall for a booke I had of his—a defence of Tobacco[2].

[1] Samuel Samways (or Samwaies) first occurs in the College books at an audit, Oct. 13, 1602, and regularly recurs till 1650. He leased from the College the tithes and lands of Little Melton. His lease was renewed in 1629, paying £8 at Lady-day and at Michaelmas 12 qrs. of wheat and one of mault, or money for it at the rate of the best wheat sold in College on the Saturday before.

[2] *A Defence of Tobacco:* with a friendly answer to the late printed booke called *Worke for Chimney Sweepers* (1602). King James's *Counterblast to Tobacco* appeared this year (1604).

II.

W. Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward, chiefly relating to an answer to the Papists; March 11, 160⅘.

[Tanner MSS LXXV. f. 132.]

Salutem in Christo. It is now a moneth since that I wrote to you and had sent you the remainder of myne answer; but the Carrier was gone ere my Messenger came with it, and thereupon I was to goe to Norwich, being cited by the Chancelor. To tell you first what befell me there. He vrged me to subscribe. I answered that I had subscribed already; that I had not revolted from it; that I was conformable as much as by law I was bounde; that he had no more reason to urge me to subscribe than any Minister in the Diocesse. After many wordes he gaue me respite for my subscription till a moneth after Easter, I telling him I knew no reason to be urged then neither, &c. Many wordes we changed, which it were too long to relate. I refused not (nor doe not) the thing; but to doe it upon his urging besides law &c. Mr Newton was suspended, and so remaines. And I think the Chancelor exspects my conformity within the tyme prefixed and so will dismisse me. Notwithstanding I have yet forborne, least I should prejudice others by my precedent, that perhaps are not of that indifferency in these matters with my selfe[1]. My desire is that you would provide me against the returne of the Carrier (if it may be) a Cap, with a deepe head and somewhat large and round Corners (you know the coldnes of my braine), and send me word what length your largest hoodes are of, with the depth of the corner that is cut out for the neck. Mr Pickering can giue you the dimensions of that which was mine: in this I may more safely satisfie the Law and Mr Chancelor, than the surplice and

[1] The new Canons were passed in Convocation in the early part of 1604. On July 16 of that year a Royal Proclamation allowed the Puritan clergy to retain their livings till Nov. 30, when they must either conform or be subject to expulsion. On Dec. 16 Archbishop Bancroft sent a circular to the Bishops directing that all curates and lecturers should be required on pain of dismissal to subscribe to the new articles,—(1) the King's Supremacy, (2) a declaration that the Prayer-book contained *nothing contrary to the word of God,* (3) the Thirty-nine Articles were agreeable to the word of God. 'The beneficed clergy were to be treated with rather more consideration. If they refused to conform, they were to be at once deposed, but those amongst them who were willing to conform, though they refused to subscribe, might be allowed to remain at peace. By this means many would be able to retain their livings, who though they had no objection to perform as a matter of obedience the services enforced by the Prayer-book, were by no means ready to declare it to be their conscientious opinion that everything contained in that book was in accordance with Divine truth.' Gardiner, *Hist. of Engl.* vol. I. p. 197.

Crosse, as yet the rather because Mr Jewell and Mr Bulwer our Ministers haue broken the ice with their Caps, and the one useth his tippet also. If you may understand by the Capper that the peece cut out of a hood will make me a Cap send me worde and I will spare some money that way. I had forgotten to desire you to send me worde what sattin or damaske would serve to line my hoode. For my answer it is dispatched and deliuered the 25 of the last moneth. It was growne neare 58 sheetes of paper, the last part touching the praying to Saints is equall to the other 3 wherin I deale cheifly with Bellarmine, though not follow him foote by foote, and withall endeauour to shew that the Papistes giue worship to Saints in a score of instances &c. You shall see that if I may get my selfe a copy written out once,—for besides that which Mr Bulwer wrote I haue not yet one compleat for my selfe,—I answer his Epistle and Epigramme and dedicate it with a letter to Mr Ambrose Jermyn one of our Popish recusants, a good courteous Gentleman who tooke it in very good worth, but how it is accepted amonge them I shall heare more hereafter. Touching the propositions which you wrote of,—how farre Saints invocation may seeme tolerable: I haue not penned any, but the vttermost that I yeld to is *wishing that the prayers which the Saintes doe make for the Church militant may avayle for us*, and that perhaps *in an Apostrophe to the Saintes* themselves, as *when the Angels and heauens and other brute creatures are spoken to.* [Psal. 103 and 148.] Herewith I fit that of Lanspergius which you know I would haue had put into Mr Perkins' *Probleme*[1]. But heereof you shall vnderstand better by my answer. I was shewed within these 2 dayes a peece of Parsons against Mr Fox[2], a shamelesse worke of a gracelesse man. It seemes the Jesuites and Priestes haue compounded their Controversies, and with this condition, both to set vpon vs, as you may see by Dr Bagshaw and Kellison[3], Holywood and him. And we now are together by the eares about ceremonies. In truth it grieues me much that none of us represses their insolency saue Mr Sutcliffe[4], who yet by his too much bitternesse marres all. Were my leisure and helpes answerable to my desire Parsons should not goe long vnanswered. Though I may chance haue my handfull to defend my selfe. I pray yet send me word if you haue heard who is to answer the bokes of Persons

[1] *Guil. Perkensi problema de Romanae fidei ementito Catholicismo:* published after his death under the editorship of Samuel Ward, 1604. Perkins died in 1602. He it was of whom Fuller said that 'He would pronounce the word *damn* with such an emphasis as left a doleful echo in his auditor's ears a good while after.'

[2] Treatise of the Three Conversions of England from Paganisme to Christian Religion by N. D. [Parsons], 1603. 'Designed in answer to Fox, whom he professedly opposes throughout a greater part of his Second and Third Volumes.'

[3] A Survey of the New Religion. Douay, 1605 (by M. Kellison).

[4] A ful and round Answere to N. D., alias Robert Parsons the Noddie his foolish and rude Name Word, by M. Sutcliffe, Lond. 1604. Subversion of Robert Parsons his confused and worthless worke, entitled, A treatise of Three Conversions of England, Lond. 1606.

and who Dr Bagshaw and Sacrobosco. The bookes themselves you promised to get me: the one I could neuer yet see. If you can get them I pray you send them, and for them and all other arrerages for Morly I will send you money. Touching him I can not tell what I should say, I would haue him heere with me, but I thinck it were better he were some vsher with some graue Schoolemaster or Minister for some tyme: heere (I perceiue by Mr Samwayes) is litle opportunity of study, except one were more willing to it then I feare me he is. I pray you put him in minde to write to me that I may from himselfe heare how he is affected. I receyved by Sir Edward Lewkenors man my bookes all saue Hosius de Verbo Dei[1], which is of no moment. Hyperius *de formandis concionibus* you put in your note, but I had that before: for Lobecchius *Theses* I think you accounted with me before when I reckoned with you for those which you had besides. And as I think I payd you for hire of a horse that Mr Bywater came hither on, or if I did not I will. Touching the pieces of Hierome that you haue bought, if they be any of them of that edition which my part is of, I would desire (if you will part with them) to haue them. Myne is at Paris by Chevalon and containes the 3 first Tomes, which I would not willingly part with, albeit I should haue another whole, because of sundry references which I haue made to the pages of it. Two of our Suffolke deprived Ministers deliuered a supplication to the King, but with what successe I heare not as yet. Many thinges more I haue to write of if I could thinck on them, but it is late and this is long enough for a letter and too large except it were about some worthier matter. Therefore recommending me to your selfe and the rest of your society to our Master especially and my Cosin, and to Mr Lewkenors and Mr Walker I committ you to the Lordes mercifull protection.

Bury, this 11th of March, 1604.

Yours in Christ,
W. Bedell.

I pray you if any such place come to be disposed of by you or any of your freendes as I wrote of before, or if our Master haue any such let (Sir Morly now) haue the offer of it if you think him meete therto. I pray send me word if it were not Dominicus Soto that Catha * * * wrote against about the question whether the Church might erre in Canonizing. I think I saw once the answer of Soto in your handes or Chamber. I think I left once with you 2 or 3 English pamphletes of Dr Turners, which I would haue had bound together. I pray you if you can find them, send them at some convenient time.

[1] Hosius, Stanislaus, *Of the Extreme Word of God*, Louvayn, by John Bogard, 1567.

III.

Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward, on various literary matters; July 25, 1605.

[Tanner MSS LXXV. f. 137.]

Salutem in Christo. Good Mr Warde, I haue receiued your letter and my booke, wherein as I doe not remember that I had any thing of Dr Turners against the Anabaptists (unlesse that were amongst Mr Perkins bookes), so I am sure I had a litle booke of his entitled Spirituall Phisick which if you find among your bookes I pray you reserve for me. For this and for all other my bookes I haue had of you and all other reckonings (Sir Morlyes I meane) I would not willingly vndertake for him any longer except there were any hope for him to get a fellowship heereafter among you: but what stuffe there is like to be in him for such a place I knowe not. He hath (as I am enformed by Mr Sandes) borne himselfe very well in the place where he hath beene, during this his discontinuance. If there were any hope for him that way, and worthines in himselfe thereof, which you shall perceiue better by his actes and exercises and carriage there than I can, I would desire you to talke with him and to offer him this as of your selfe to encourage him to follow his studyes; that if he will promise you to repay that agayne heereafter, you will defray all his moderate expenses for some time. And to you if he shall fayle, as farre as 10*li.* commeth to I will vndertake. Touching any booke of mine to be set out, it is more than I know: and I doe think it is nothing but some rumor of these verses which are now in printing. My answer at this present is at Norwich with Mr Newhouse who desired that he might haue it to peruse. I doe not looke for any rejoinder, and if it should be thought worthy the putting to print, I doe not care if it were printed. But I thinck I should rather vse Mr Macham of the Tigers heade in Paules Churchyard who printes these verses, and with whome in some affaires of Mr Sothebyes I haue had entercourse by letters these 2 yeares. Touching Sacrobosco had I helpes fitt therto, I would gladly vndertake him. I meane Stapletons bookes and Dr Whitakers *Duplicatio.* For the later booke *de Ecclesia*, if you will vndertake the former, I will answer it. Although if I set out myne owne, I haue thought of a suplement to be annexed to it also for answer to the authorityes of the Fathers, &c. Touching Poetry I doubt not but it may be used by a Minister in a holy sort. Gregory Nazianzen Apollinarius besides Prudentius Arator and many others are example, euen in Ministers, but this tale that I wrote of is not so much worth. I misse among my papers a paraphrase that once I made of the 72nd Psalme by occasion of the King coming to the crowne. Whether I sent, or left it with you at my being at Cambridge I know not, but sure I am I had in purpose to haue shewed it you: if you haue it send it me I pray. Touching Mr Comber his

verses I know not whats become of them, but I had them not from Mr Firmage, although I wel remember we had them at Denham. The Examiners will not let Mr Hordes verses passe to the presse, as the printer writes to me. Yet he sayth if I will procure a new copy he will print them in some priuate copyes. If you thinck good entreate Mr Horde to let you haue a copy and send them on Weddensday. At least wise I would nothing but the place touching the standing against Traditions or ceremonies were by him selfe left out, and the rest printed, for else the 1st part of the booke wilbe much shorter being the shortest already. I pray doe heerin what you thinck fitt but with speede, for yesterday I receiued 2 sheetes already printed. I espied not till now in your verses (*unicē*) a dactyll. I haue sent to the Printer to haue it amended, *vndique*. I feare me such more escapes there wilbe both in other mens and perhaps mine owne. I would I might see the Protestants Apology, although if I should set out my answer I may not change any thing in it as it now standes. The sicknes is still with us in 2 houses. There haue died in all 8 or 9 yet I thank God my neighbors are all well, and now permitted to come abroade againe. The Lord stay this infection both with you and us. Strange newes we heare of a new attempt against the Kinges life. These wretched Papistes will still kick against the prick till their madnes procure them the hatred both of God and men. The lord convert or confound them. Remember me to Mr Lewkenor, my Cosin, and all your good company This Coronation day, 1605.

Yours in Christ,
W. B.

I pray write me your mind whether you thinck a suitor may in conscience intimate his affection to another without the Licence of her Father, yea or nay and *quatenus*.

IV.

Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; attempted assassination of Paul Sarpi; other news from Venice; 1607[1].

[Tanner MSS LXXV. f. 3.]

Good Mr Ward, I thanck you largely for your large letters, and for the Note enclosed touching the Fathers; for your frendship to Sir Morly, your newes both that Academicall and Rusticall, if I may so write for ryme sake: though to speake truth I lyke greatly neither of them. As touching the Canons of the Councills, I had conference with Fra Paulo, he told me he could neuer yet come to the sight of the Codex Canonum set forth at

[1] Bedell joined Sir H. Wotton in Venice this year as chaplain in succession to R. Fletcher. The statement on p. 81 is misleading. He did not go *with* Wotton, but arrived about the end of April 1607, see p. 230.

Mentz, that there is nothing that he knowes would helpe to your satisfaction in St Markes library or that of their Monastery, but a Noble man of Venice of his acquaintance hath the Councills in Greeke, wherin he promised me as you required, to search for that word φωτανγῶν in the Laödicen Synod, or any thing else that you would require. A few dayes after this conference hapned the brutish attempt against him[1], of which I haue certified you heeretofore which dasht all and put us in great feare of his life. Now thanked be God he is perfectly recoverd and abroad againe, and I doe hope this accident will awake him a litle more and put some more spirit in him, which is his only want, although to say truth it is rather judgment and discretion in him, considering this state how it standes, than weaknes that makes him cautelous. I haue no doubt but by litle and litle the Papacy will to wrack. Besides the love and care which this estate hath shewed to this Father in their 2 Proclamations about him (the latter whereof I should haue sent to Mr Chaderton[2] before as I wrote, but could not, now I pray you deliuer it to him with my humble commendations.) Since that tyme one Cibo a Friar, that began to advance the Pope's power heere, is banished. And one Angelo Badoëro a nobleman of Venice clapt in close prison for having had secret conference with the Popes Nuncio, and it is thought it will goe neare to cost him his life. He was in the former broyle, a Papalin as they call them, but is of no religion as is sayd by them that know him; and so much the fitter instrument might he be for that for them with whom treasons and murthers are religion. What becomes of him you shall vnderstand heereafter. I haue sent to Mr Knewstub a Coppy of *certaine rules of the Jesuites* whereof aboue 400 coppyes hand-written all, *eodem exemplo*, were found in their Colledge at *Padoa*. *They* are worth your seeing. I wrote long since certaine *Annotations* to them which this bearer bringeth with him into England, and I haue entreated your pupill Mr Jorkin to copy them out for you. If they should be thought fitt to see the light,—I know they are not worthy, neither doth it seeme to me very convenient,—I would you or some other would adde a fewe lines in the beginning that they came to your handes and that you thought good to adde these Annotations. If they could be printed rather at London or at Oxford it were better, and by another set out that knowes not me, *than you*. Their fraternity doe this Spring hold a Generall Chapter, as it is thought at Rome; where some such Egge will be hatched as was in their last *the Holy League*. Our comfort is "he that sitteth in the heaven...shall haue them in derision[3]." The Pope hath made 3 Cardinalls, The King of Spaine his Confessor General of the Dominicans, (no small affront to the Jesuites) and the younger sonnes of the Dukes of Savoy, and Mantoa, whose other marrieth shortly the D. of Sauoy[4] his

[1] The attempted assassination of Fra Paolo Sarpi by a band of ruffians at Venice in 1607, believed (though it seems without grounds) to have been instigated by Cardinal Borghese, a nephew of Paul V.

[2] Laurence Chaderton, first Master of Emmanuel College, b. 1536, d. 1640.

[3] Ps. 2. 4.

[4] Carlo Emmanuele, 1580–1630.

daughter. I haue not yet received my trunck nor bought any bookes for your or my selfe. But I see that is true that you write that the Fathers may be better had else where. Schoolemen may be had reasonable heere, but all Venice prints of late be exceeding false. Remember me to my Cosin to whom that I now write not I must entreat his pacience. I haue so many letters yet to dispatch as I feare to lack tyme. As touching the report of preaching heere against Justification by workes, the Papal Supremacy, Purgatory, &c., as in a paper printed which I haue seene, The truth is that in some Sermons of Friars in general termes and warily such thinges were taught, and with great good; but this Lent another preaches of that order, as senselesse a superstitious fellow as euer cumbered a pulpit.

Venice this St Stephens day
in your account [26 Dec.].

Yours assured for euer
W. Bedell.

Badoëro is condemned to be depriued of all honours present and future, to suffer a yeares imprisonment, and if he after depart the Signory, to be intended banished and his goods confiscate. Two Friars that meditated this meeting and afforded them place in their Cloyster, are banished the Citty within 24 houres after the sentence, the Territory within 3 dayes. This Edict enclosed occasioned by Poma his escape with his complices, Deliuer I pray with the other and so I againe recommend me.

V.

Letter written by W. Bedell, from Venice to Mr Adam Newton[1], *giving an account of the state of the Church and religion there;* Jan. 1, 160⅞.

[Tanner MSS LXXV. f. 242.]

Neither my forgetfullness of your almost-last words at my parting from the court, (Right Reverend, and worshipfull Sir,) when you requir'd, that in this absence from my Country now and then you might hear from me; nor the neglect of soe small an affaire,—especially being now the onely means I have, or, perhaps ever shall, to shew my thankfullness for your undeserv'd love, in the debt whereof an honest mind would most of all eschew to dye,—hath caused my forbearance to write unto you hitherto. But (as God, who best knows my heart, is my best witness) chiefly the

[1] For Bedell's residence at Venice as chaplain to Sir H. Wotton, see *Life*, pp. 8, sq. Cp. p. 224 n. Adam Newton, a Scotchman, was made Dean of Durham in 1606, though not in orders. In 1620 he was made a baronet.

desire of performing this Duty in such sort, as might be worthy your view, hath been the barr to my perpetuall desire of the performance it self. And as to my manner, although from the begining, I desir'd thereof; yet the trust of your acceptance of my endeavour in good part, made me ready enough. It was fitt matter that I expected: fitt, I say, for me to write of, and to you. For to write of ordinary occurents, as the news of the Piazza, some merchant or merchants factor might fittlyer and should much better doe it than I. And as for matters of state, with such like affairs subordinate to that end; I counted it should be noe small folly to seek to give you intelligence, which have it there daily at court more full and more certain, from this and all other places, than my self. The Estate of the church here, and of religion, in what tearms it either presently stands, or is like hereafter, that I might with some observation enquire and relate, I thought it would not be unfitt for me nor unwellcom to you; and of both, as farr as I have been able to informe my self, I will now endeavour to give you an Account.

First, for the church (which Name, I know not by what right, by universall custome, and long prescription we Clergy-men have engross'd to our Selves), The Signory of Venice hath not any one Ecclesiasticall person, to whom the rest are subordinate. For though there be a Patriarch here, who also stileth himself Primate of Dalmatia, yet is this but a name of honour. He is not soe much as an Archbishop, according to the ancient account, but onely Bishop of Venice: neither when he calls his Synod, doe any other but the Clergy of this Citty meet. The other Citties of this estate (as are Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia,) are distinct jurisdictions; and some pertaineing to the Archbishop of Millaine, which is the self-same inconvenience which was found in our Island while the Bishops of Scotland were under the Archbishop of Yorke. It is true, that some one or two towns and Islands this Patriarch hath under him in Dalmatia, which are Episcopall Sees; And the revenue of the ancient Patriarch of Aquileia for a great part (a towne allmost now desolate of inhabitants), and whereby, and his other means here, he receiveth yearly 13000 Duckatts of revenue: which is the cause, that this place is still furnish'd with some one of the nobility, and to be sure that the Pope should not encroach upon them in the vacancy, they have used allways to have a new-elect, besides him who occupieth the place, in readiness. This man is now said to be a sickly and weak man; neither greatly stirreth in the church-affairs. And his weakness hitherto hath served the Venetians for an excuse, why he should not goe to Rome for his confirmation (which one onely of his Predecessors, for fear of the arms of Spaine, hath done): Although if this excuse should faile, they would soon find another, or two, ere they would send him.

Under the Patriarch (at least in opinion, and appearance) is the college of the Inquisition, which is composed of the Pope's Nuncio (who is ordinarily resident here, and hath a fair palace, properly appertaining to his place, of the gift of the Signory), and of the Patriarch, his Vicar generall, and Commissary, 2 Gentlemen of Venice, and an Inquisitor of

the Dominicans. These seven have the censure of Books to be imprinted, and audition of the crime of heresie; although with this moderation, that noe man borne out of Italy is soe much as called in question by them unless he give great scandall.

Next are the ordinary Priests and Curates of the severall churches of the Citty. In the choice of whom (not here onely, but as I've been told by those, that have reason to know, throughout Italy) it is aimed at that they be such, as they are sure to be either noe sticklers (for which they take a good order by choosing noe great Clerks) or else sound for the present state: whereunto they are allso obliged by dispensations for many benefices and church-dignities. And generally these, if they needs will be preaching (which is but supererogation) must be licens'd soe to doe, and are enjoyn'd for the rule and square of their doctrine, the Catechism of the Council of Trent, which is by the Patriarchs commandment enjoyn'd to be taught allso in Schools, and by all means made familiar to the people, being set forth in the Italian tongue, with large indulgence to those that teach and learne it.

Thus is the office of preaching wholly in a manner devolved to the Fryars, and when they were here to the Jesuits. Of which last I can say nothing, since 'twas not my ill-fortune to meet them here at my coming. Onely there came to my hands certain rules of theirs, which it seems were observ'd among them in their preaching, whereof there were found in their college at Padua, when they departed thence, about 400 copies, written all after one manner. You shall receive them herewithall by this bearer, and certaine notes added to them: which if you thinke good to communicate to others, I desire it may be concealed they came from me. By them you may make conjecture of the Jesuits sermons. As for the Fryars, which I have heard here, their whole intentions seem to be either to delight or to move: as for teaching, they know not what it means. But to hear their strange wresting of the holy Scripture, to see the fooleries of their Idolatry to the little crucifix that stands at their elbow, the anticks of their gesture more than player or fencer-like, their vehemency of which a man may well use that of the poet, *magno conatu magnas nugas*[1]. It is (I assure you, Sir) matter of great patience: and for my part I have found myself better satisfied (at least wise less cloy'd) with the sermons of the Jews, than with theirs. And in one thing the very Jews contemne them, and not undeservedly, as merchants of Gods word. For in the middest of their sermons still the preacher makes some pretty occasion or other to fall into the common place of moveing them to alms; and 3, or 4 with long canes, and a bag at the end skim over the whole auditory; and the people generally not undevout, being taken in a good mood, while the impression is yet new, are not unliberall. Out of this the preacher hath his share: the rest goes to the collectors, or Guardians of the fraternity, or other school that heard him.

[1] Terence *Hautont.* 621 ne ista hercle magno cum conatu magnas nugas dixerit.

And because I am fallen in to the mention of the people, that you may at once understand the present face of Religion here; If ever there were any Citty, to which the Epithets would agree, which St Luke gives to Athens, (which he calls κατείδωλον[1]) this is it. Such a multitude of idolatrous statues, pictures, reliques in every corner, not of their churches onely, but houses, chambers, shopps, yea the very streets, and in the country the high wayes and hedges swarme with them. The sea it self is not free; they are in the shipps, boats, and water-marks. And as for their slavery and subiection to them, it is such, as that of paganisme came not to the half of it. Whereof to give you such a taste as may be allso for some cause of it; noe sooner doe their Children almost creep out of their Cradles, but they are taught to be Idolators. They have certain childish processions, wherein are carryed about certain puppets, made for their Lady, and some boy that is better Clerke than his fellows goes before them with the words of the Popish Litany; where the rest of the fry following make up the quire. A great tyrant is custome and a great advantage hath that discipline which is suck'd in with the mothers milke. But to convey superstition into the minds of that tender age under the forme of sport, and play, which it esteemeth more than meat and drinke, is a deeper point of policy, and such, as wise men perhaps would profitably suck somewhat out of it for imitation to a right end.

But one thing certainly they goe beyond us in: and that is their liberality and cost in the solemn setting forth of their service and adorneing their churches; and especially at their feast-days. Wherein if they pass measure allso, as possibly they doe, yet is that extreme less exceptionable, and allways more curable, than our beggary, the scorne of our religion. Not only popular conceits, but the most part of men of whatsoever quality are led much more by shews than substance. And what a disproportion it is, to come from ours soe unhonestly kept (for in Buildings we generally goe beyond them) to the glittering churches and monasteries of Italy, you may easily discerne. Truly, Sir, I have heard some wise men account this as noe small cause of the perversion of soe many of our young Gentlemen that come into these parts.

To returne to the people here: as they are thus abandon'd to Idolatry, soe is that of the Apostle verified in them, that they receive the recompence of their error in themselves; being given over to all manner of uncleaneness[2], for a punishment of that Spirituall whoredom. And indeed that vice is here in all sorts, not only without measure, but without shame: wherein they are the ring-leaders which profess religion; and even at this present in a cloyster of votaries, not farr from this house, the report goes, that there be noe less than four with child. This fruit hath the worldly wisedome and painted holiness of these extollers of virginity, and depravers of Gods ordinance of Marriage. To conclude this point, I cannot easily resolve, whether this people be more deeply drown'd in ignorance, or sin; each indeed being the effect and cause of other; Both be soe great, as if

[1] Acts 17. 16.

[2] Romans 1. 24.

it be true, which is said things mend, when they are at the worst, it cannot in reason be farr off, that God should by his judgment or mercy work some alteration.

And that the same was like to be to conversion, rather than subversion, the late controversy with the Pope gave great hope to all good men. The admirable consent of this State to stand out; the learned writings of their Divines against the Pope's pretended authority; the banishment of the Jesuits; the sermons, some invective against the abuses of Popes, and their vices by one Fulgentio a Franciscan, a bitter Opposite of the Jesuits and of the Pope; some laying the generall ground of reformation, as the times would bear, in the doctrines of the authority of the holy scripture, explicite faith against blind ignorance mask'd with the name of the church belief; the Grace of God whereby we are saved; the slavery of our free will to sin by another Fulgentio a Servite: these were great signs, great causes of health. But all-suddenly this hope was dasht by the peace concluded with the Pope; which was done a few days before my arrivall here. A matter wrought in appearance by the diligence of the French Ambassador, the Cardinall Perron; in truth by the sole authority of his majestie's Name: Whose declareing himself for this estate made such an impression at Rome as they thought it wisedom to redeem this part, though it were with loss of reputation, rather than hazard all[1].

It may be said according to humane judgment (save that the highest wisedom is the best director of all things) that this peace fell out very unluckily for the cause of Religion; which began to gaine much, not only in the question of the Pope's Primacy (that in my judgement being the maine ground of Popery) but in many others. It is the opinion of wise and good men here, that, had this breach continued but a year or two longer, the Pope might have bidden farewell his part. But now haveing recalled his censures, though with much baseness, consenting to the perpetuall banishment of his chief champions the Jesuits; this he seems to have gotten, that he hath quench'd the sparke; which, had it a little more kindled in his house, would have fired it about his ears.

Not long after my comeing, he sent his Nuncio the Bishop of Rimini (soe is now the old Ariminum called) by whom, flattering the state with the title of *filia apprimè dilecta*, he promised all that might be required at the hands of a most indulgent Father. The state gratefied him before, at the petition of the Cardinall, with the silencing of Fulgentio the

[1] Paul V. launched an interdict against Venice, 17 April, 1606, because the Signory insisted on the right of prosecuting ecclesiastics and dealing with ecclesiastical property. In spite of this, by the authority of the Signory the Jesuits, Capuchins and Theatines were banished. But on the 21 April, 1607, Cardinal de Joyeuse (Ambassador Extraordinary from France) celebrated mass as a sign of the withdrawal of the Interdict. The Pope was not mortified by doing this formally, and the Signory by abstaining from attending the mass ignored both the interdict and its withdrawal. This however was practically the end of the quarrel, though the Jesuits were not readmitted.

Franciscan, tho' without any disgrace, nay with a pension to him, and the rest that stood for their cause: and Fulgentio hath the Jesuits College granted to him and his order, where he now resideth. The other Fulgentio, his tearme to preach being expired, another of his order is sent by the Provinciall; but of another stamp, as bold, and silly a man, as ever combered pulpitt. All things seem to have returned to their old course again; and the doore as fast shutt, and barr'd against reformation, as ever. And had not one counsell this other day miscarryed, that I mean, of killing Fra Paolo, all had been out of despaire; and they would have thought, if not with Love, with fear at least, to have sealed up the lipps of any that might have spoken against the Pope's power.

Notwithstanding I am of opinion, that the same is irrecoverably broken here, and long it will not be ere some change follow. A paradox perhaps to those, who look either to the generall nature of the Italians, or speciall prudence of this state, to put nothing in hazard. But the inducements, that lead me soe to thinke I will sett down, referring it to your wisedom to judge of my conjecture herein.

All changes in religion seem to me to come from reasons of conscience, or of state. For the former, it should be necessary thereto that the magistrate, and people in some regardable number, should be informed of the present abuses, as they offer, or these call for redress. A great worke, and whereto much time and many instruments would be requisite; save that some times the dexterity and excellency of a few work more than the number of many. Some there are here as admirably fitted thereto as could be wish'd: Maestro Paulo, and his schollar Fulgentio, Serviti, both of great learning, piety, humility, discretion, and integrity of life; and which is especially to be consider'd as to our purpose, in great account with all sorts, and deservedly; haveing, in the late controversy serv'd their country soe faithfully, as the Pope conns them little thanks[1] for their labour. The former for a long time liv'd in Rome, and is holden for a miracle in all manner of knowledge divine and humane; the chief counsellor of this signory in their affairs Ecclesiasticall. The other was sometimes reader of Schoole-Divinity in Bononia, the Pope's university: out of which place he was called home, or turn'd out, when the quarrell begun, his books still detain'd. He is said to be an excellent preacher: and of his sermons, I think, came the report, which I have seen sent out of England in print, of certaine preachings here the last lent. These two I know (as haveing practic'd with them) to desire nothing in the world soe much as the reformation of the Church: and in a word, for the substance of religion they are wholly ours. What effect now the force of truth may have in the mouth of such men, I leave to your consideration. Sundry of the nobility and Senate doe extraordinarily favour them and their

[1] This now obsolete phrase was common at the time. Shakespeare, *All's Well*, iv. 3. 174, 'I con him no thanks for it.' *Timon*, iv. 3. 428, 'Thanks I must you con.' Holland the translator uses it to represent the Greek *εἰδέναι χάριν*.

opinions. The generall doctrines, that I mention'd before, did much good; private conferences have more freedom and noe less fruit; the name of Papalini given to the popish faction argues somewhat: the banishment of the Jesuits another noe ill sign how the minds of men be affected. And tho' it be noe small disadvantage, that the government here is in the hands of so many, in such sort, as it will not serve to worke one, or two, or ten: yet hath it again some commodity, that voices being given by balls secretly, every man doth freely, without regard of others displeasure, sway whither his conscience leads him. Concluding then this discourse, Reformation by that by-way of persuasion of the conscience, though slower, seems noe way to be despaired off.

To come to those by-ways of policy, which yet I think a man may truly say, doe more ordinarily conduct the change of religion than the former; it being, as the corruption of our nature, noe otherwise to love the very truth, than as it may comport with our own affairs, soe the highest prerogative of that infinite wisedom, which rules us, to order or disorder to his own glory; and while we aime at other ends, to effect his: it is out of question with all who see any thing, that the likest thing soonest to bring in reformation, that can be imagin'd, were warr with the Pope, or at least in Italy. For as for some schisme by election of an Antipope, it is a thing rather imaginable than to be hoped: unless the French King were more sensible of the potency of Spaine in the College of Cardinalls, than he seems to be. Of warr with the pope there seems noe likelihood; 'tis but the other day this peace was concluded, as thirstingly in the end by him desir'd, as it had been rashly broken: and as broken bones (they say) grow stronger than before; so does the agreement of states, their jealousies discoverd and satisfied. The world knows, the Venetians be noe hot undertakers in matters of warr; a people of the gown rather than of the Cloke; their Counsell, and commanders of that Age, which, even in them which have been brought up in the camp, curdleth the bloud and quencheth the heat of martial spirit. Their Arsenall indeed is a shop of warr: but it serveth them more for the guard of their peace with the opinion of it, than with the use. They see well Spaine will be on their top, if they tamper with the pope. He[1] on the other side is not martiall, and hopeing at first to winn the opinion of courage by undertakeing, now (as cowards are wont) fears the more, where he finds resistance. He hath noe money; he fears the Spanish society will be Lyon-like; he hates the Venetians for giveing this precedent of questioning his power: but for all that would not strengthen the other[2], whom he counts too potent in Italy already, with their ruine: rather (if he wist how) would he try to wring Naples out of their hands, than help them to more. It is true, that when the princes, and estates in Italy were many and of noe great strength, he found it a course of gaine to continue them in factions and warrs, and fish'd well himself with St Peter's nett in troubled waters: now being few and mighty, he fears to break the counterpoise, and doubts lest himself loose

[1] The Pope. [2] Spain.

by shuffling. Soe, when peace is made, and both parts content, nay desirous to be defendants rather than assailants, what likelihood of any combat?

As for other warr in Italy, wherein the Pope should be partiall to the opposites of the Signory, it must be in all likelihood, if at all, from Spaine. The Venetians know well enough the King affects the entire possession of Italy; the Country by long prescription pretending, and by its own situation made as it were to be the seat of the western monarchy, which now a good while those ambitious princes have in their thoughts erected. It is true, that after the advice bequeathed him (as 'tis said) by his father, he proceeds to make himself master of it by little and little, by alliances, and pensions, and such means, awaiteing fitt occasions rather than open force: and these courses are soe inexceptionable, as they cannot tell how to oppose themselves to them. It may well be, these Signors fear the Spaniard the more; the tediousness it self of which affection sometimes produceth great resolution; discourseing, that where certain hostility is look'd for, he hath the advantage that strikes first; to break with a colourable friend is the onely means of safety; the only peace with a cloaked enemy is warr. Notwithstanding for my part, looking to their former courses, I doe not think they will be the first to take arms; but will rather maintaine still their wonted patience; though with as good an eye to the practices of Spaine as they can. As for that prince[1], besides it is said he is nothing warlike, he hath allready soe much tow on his distaff in ye low countries, and may have more from France, God knows how soon, as he is not likely to stirr in Italy, without very great likelihood of advantage and fair possibilities. Which if he should, as the Venetians hazzard as much as they have to loose, soe they would hope for as good partage as they might: the Pope (out of question) whosoever won, would have the worst of the game.

Soe looking to the dispositions of these princes, there is noe likelihood of warr. But if there be constant and necessary causes of dislike; if there want not some on either side to foment them; if there be daily new and great occasions of breaking; it may be this new unity will be ript ere long, though it be not rent, and that shall be enough to bring in this reformation, which we are speaking of. Here then lett us consider, that by the pope's seizing into his hands the Duchy of Ferrara he is become a borderer upon this state; that they hold certaine skirts of that Signory, which they have rent from it in the former troubles of Italy; that the pope having soe greatly encreas'd his power is not only a greater eye-sore, but now allso formidable to them. They find his spirit (which this success hath put into him) by his picking quarrells, and late homely usage of them, though somewhat before himself was well provided. They consider, how he is by the Spaniard made, and used to all his purposes and occasions; how his censures shall be at all times at his devotion. They see, how he hath a great, and strong part in their own territories to use against them-

[1] Philip III. of Spain.

selves, the whole Clergy, which are his profess'd and sworne servants: to omitt, that in the consciences of the vulgar sort he is esteemed a God Almighty upon Earth[1], soe as 'tis a doubtfull question they use among great Clerks, whether he can err or noe. These things thus standing, it were simplicity (in my opinion) to think they can love him, and they scorne as much to fear him. Consider now, whether it be not necessary for them to seek to untie their subjects' consciences from his devotion, and to let him know, if they cannot have his indulgences, to escape the fire, or allay the heate, of purgatory, they may goe to heaven a nearer way.

And because 'tis found that sometimes they, that take part with others in their quarrells, do sett them together by the ears by their Counsells, provocation of the adverse part, or even encouragement of their presence, which otherwise out of their own patience and sometimes mutuall fears would remaine good friends, let us view the assistance of each side. With the Pope are, besides the Spaniards (of whom himself yet cannot but be jealous) the Jesuits, the great Duke[2], sometime a Cardinall of the church of Rome, whom the Venetians love not, as he knows it well enough, the Dukes of Mantua, and Savoy, obliged by the late choosing their sonns Cardinalls. With the Venetians, besides the French King, whom they hope allways to oppose to the Grizons and Switzers, with whom they have severall leagues, their newest, yet perhaps surest friend is his Majesty[3]. There is noe doubt, but the King of Spaine, if he had not his hands full allready, that he might see how to gett by the bargaine, he would soone both perswade and counsell the Pope to break with the Venetians. And therefore they stand in great care, and expectation, what the end of this treaty will be with the Netherlands[4]. The other Dukes I mention'd, if they doe any way further hereunto, it is with the hope of their assistance and defence, if the pope should be wrongd more then to incite him to begin to make a stirr: unless it be the Duke of Savoy, who is a stirring Prince, and hath many children, and knows he shall still be kept back by Spaine.

But let it not seem strange, that I make reckoning of the Jesuits, and account them regardable in this affair; being (as it may seem) but a small part of the Pope's power. They are a just monarchy by themselves, mighty in number, money, possessions, friends; insomuch, that they are not only

[1] For the high claims of Paul V. to a quasi-divine authority see Ranke's *Hist. of the Popes*, Book VI. § 11. Cp. p. 250 *infra*.

[2] Grand Duke of Tuscany, a title bestowed on Cosmo II. of Florence by Pius V. (1572). In 1587 Ferdinand succeeded his brother Francis, giving up a Cardinal's hat for the Dukedom. Ob. 1609.

[3] James I. of England, who promised through Sir H. Wotton to use all endeavours to make a league in favour of Venice, and assist her by sea and land, with men and money.

[4] On the 9th April, 1609, a truce for 12 years was signed between the king of Spain and the Dutch States, which practically ended the War of Independence and acknowledged the Dutch as a free people. This was now negotiating.

envyed of other religions, and generally of the Clergy, but allmost feard of the Pope himself: and which is not least to be regarded, they have many ripe and stirring witts, and of great ability to manage their affairs. As to our present purpose, they have receiv'd the deepest disgrace from this estate that may be. Their houses here, and at Padua in the late contention were search'd, their goods, books, and writeings seiz'd, such as themselves had not the time to burne, (as here they burnt an incredible number, as by the ashes on a great heap, and yet quick the next day after their departure, appeared, which was told me by an eye-witness of creditt) themselves banish'd, and with speciall conditions in the treaty with the Pope, and soe to remaine. These people, the most malicious in the world, the boldest undertakers, the hottest pursuers of any enterprize, it is not possible but they will attempt to sett all in broile; and to be avenged of the Venetians, hazard not only the Pope's estate, but their own, haveing without any probable cause (as might be alleged in France) receivd such an indignity. Of this affection some fruits here allready appeareth, more are looked for; especially after their generall chapter, which is called this Spring to be holden (as is said) at Rome: where Christian princes—especially those of the reformed religion, which in all this time have not had the mind to assemble any Councill, either for the generall reformation of the Church or the takeing away of differences betwixt themselves, no not soe much as to enter into any consultation for the security of their own persons from such cutt throats,—may expect that some such egg will be hatch'd, as was at their last meeting of this kind; which brought forth that bloudy, rather than holy league, the effect whereof poor France can yet report off; and that prince put to soe hard a choice, as either to forgoe his crown or doe worse, hath reason to remember[1].

Of him the Venetians, (to returne to our purpose) doe always look for good assistance against Spaine, for the recovery at sea of his own, either old or new pretensions. The Grisons and Switzers will at all times afford them souldiers. Notwithstanding, neither of these doe put any great spirit into them; the French allso (which themselves cannot sufficiently wonder at) in the contentions with the Pope mediating for peace. As for his majestie's intentions, it would not become the reverence of a subject to guess at them, farther than himself hath discoverd. The world hath taken knowledge of his profession, to stand for the liberty of princes encroachd upon by the Pope. If nothing else, not only the former dangers of his person, but those perpetuall of his estate,—soe long as for the practices of Rome he cannot be sure of the allegiance of his own subjects,—be noe inducement to him to seek the peace of it. To goe a little farther, it were an opinion against his honour, to think that he doth not affect the reformation of the church of God, the ruine of Babell. If it be said, that he is too farr off to be of any great use to the Venetians; some 5, or 6 weeks saileing would bring his navie into the mouth of Tiber. Or if that course by them,

[1] The Catholic League in France 1584, owing to which Henry IV. was forced to accept Catholicism (1593).

which, professing to be his friends entertain open rebells and traytors against his person in the highest degree, should be impeached; there is landing nearer at hand. Howsoever, his very name sufficeth the Venetians: and in the late capitulation it made them to stand more upon points off honor; soe doth it still animate them not to yield a hair in all their negotiations with Rome.

If there were nothing else, this very manner, compar'd with the pride of that see, would persaude that this peace cannot last long: since as the Italian proverb hath it, Hard with hard makes noe good wall[1]; But there be sundry occasions of breach offered all ready on either side. The Venetians have rewarded the Divines that wrote on their side with pensions out of the common treasure. One Cibo a Fryar, which haveing by his sermons ever since Easter last gotten good reputation in the Citty, began at length to advance the authority of the Pope, was presently banishd the state: and the like punishment had another at Brescia, for haveing in the former troubles perswaded certain gunners there not to bear arms against the Pope. Who finding him self griev'd herewith, not that they were punish'd, but that they were not reserved to him, answer was made by the Ambassador of this Signory, that the state did not prejudice his holiness, but he might provide that such persons brake not out in this kind; but if they did, they would surely see to them: that they had been too mild hitherto; but henceforth would sack them and drowne them. And indeed not long after a rumor was raised in the Citty, that certain Fryers, that came to worke I know not what mischief here, were drownd in the nigel; a course of Justice not in this place unlawfull or unusuall.

On the other side hath been the barbarous attempt against ye person of Father Paulo; whereof I know you have heard allready very particularly. Many remarkeable circumstances accompanyed it. For the time; it was done the very next day that Perron, the French Cardinall, came hither from Rome returneing to France[2]; the persons dwelt hard by the Nuncio his house, (who became by this means not lightly sprinkled with the suspition of being privy hereto): they fled to Ancona, the Popes towne, and a few days after were seen at Rome: where (as some think), they are entertain'd as souldiers in the Popes pay in the Castle of St Angelo; others say, they were made Jesuits. But to have seen how this matter was taken was admirable. The whole Citty was in a broile; the Councell often called in the night; the chiefest of the senate flock'd to the monastery, where the wounded Father lay; the next day the people every where in clumps and clusters talking of this matter; the professor of Anatomy and Chirurgery, Aqua-pendente, a man of great age, learning, and experience, sent for by publick counsell to Padua, and joyned with other physicians to the cure of the wounds; an edict published against the cut throats, with a strange tally sett on their heads; and which is specially to be marked

[1] Duro con duro
Non fa buono muro.

[2] Jacques Day du Perron, b. 1556, d. 1618, Cardinal of St Agnes, Grand Almoner of France.

therein, they are expressly stiled the ministers of this conspiracy, as if others were the authors and contrivers. Besides, the Priest's head is sett in it to sale as well as the rest without reserving him to the Pope's correction. Not many days after, when the Father's recovery was certain, which for a good while for his great loss of blood, and an inflammation succeeding was doubtfull in such sort, as almost for a moneth he kept his bed; his pension was encreas'd to 600 Ducates: and an other edict set forth for the asservation of his person in time to come: and now by reason of the escape of those who attempted soe foul an enterprize, this day a third more generall to prevent the like, which you shall receive herewith.

The Nuncio at the beginning kept his house for a great time; and it was given out (whether truly or no) for a colour, that he was sick: since that time he hath receivd many distastes, which would be too long to relate in particular. He hath abstaind to come into the college of the inquisition, because of the Dominican there, which was one of the 7 Divines, that concurr'd in the book against the Pope[1]. Now whereas he is wont by custome to visit certain churches in the Citty, and certain monasteries, they have still soe appointed it, that those that receive him, (and once he that gave him holy water) are the same, that were opposites in the former times to his master. But especially 'tis considerable, (which fell out a few days since) one Angelo Badoenzo, a man of great nobility, alliance, employment, as haveing been Ambassador into France, and still on the Pope's side, for haveing had secret conference with the Nuncio in a Cloyster of Friars, was committed to close prison, and yesterday censured to lose all his honours; and to be made for ever incapable of any in time to come; to sustain a year's imprisonment; and after, if he shall attempt to flye out of the territories of the state, to be intended banished, and his goods confiscated. These affronts are yet increasd with the banishment of Marcantonio, and Vicentio, the Friars, within 24 hours out of the Citty, within 3 days out of the dominion of the Venetians. It is allso said that they will never yield that that Patriarch shall goe to be confirmed at Rome; for that matter beginns to be moved afresh.

Soe that considering those occasions anew rubbing the old sore, ere it hath fully gotten an escarre; it seems to me, that in likelihood the Pope, either wearied with those disgraces will anew interdict this Signory: and then unless he can make a full conquest of them (which I doubt whether he dare hope) he is here gone for ever: or else if his back be soe broad, as to bear all this and more (as he must,) his authority with too much sufferance will grow stale by little and little; and the number of them, which desire reformation, increasing with their contempt of him, that will at length fall out here which in other Cities of Germany wee see to have happened. The estate of a Tyrant, always hazardous, is then desperate, when he beginns to reign by treaty: and easier it is, as Caesar was wont to say, to fall from the second stepp to the lowest, than from the highest to

[1] There was a war of pamphlets in this controversy with the Pope. The principal ones in favour of Venice were by Fra Paolo and Fulgentius. The seven divines wrote a *Trattato del Interdetto.*

the second[1]. All great things are unweildly to move; but once goeing fall with their own weight. Never monarchy yet, after it began to decline, hath had the power to stay it self from utter ruine. God himself owes Babel a fall; and rather than fail, himself will descend from heaven to overthrow it.

For Conclusion this onely I add, that 'tis noe small confirmation of my hope, that God's providence and his Maiestie's high wisdom have made choice of soe worthy, and fitt an instrument hereto, as this noble Gentleman, with whom I now am[2]: whose rare abilities, and equall faithfullness in his service need not my testimony, when they have the world's well deserv'd opinion and his Maiestie's royall approbation. Of his excellent understanding of religion, of his constant zeale to further it I can speak; and when I have said never soe much, yet will there be more behind than what I have said. In summ, from him alone, or from none, and from him I hope ere long (if God prosper his religious Counsells, and bring them to their desired issue) to see an end put to that glorious work, whereunto there hath allready been made a happy begining of bringing in reformation into this Church. Whereof hereafter, Reverend Sir, I hope to render you an account by it self: haveing allready with this tedious discourse, to the length of a just volume, not a letter, overwearied you. I desire, that this may be the excuse of it, that it stands for many; and soe shall my present fault cover that other of my former silence. For the rest, kissing first the hands of his highness your princely care, (the fame of whose encrease in wisdom, stature, favour with God, and man rejoyceth the hearts of all good men here) remembring allso my self most heartily to that worthy Gentleman Sir David Murray[3], and to your good self, I humbly take leave, and doe rest,

Sir,

Your Worships ever to be comman

W. Bedell.

Venice this
Newyears day
in our own stile
1607[4].

[The signature and corrections are by Abp. Sancroft.]

[1] Difficilius se principem civitatis a primo ordine in secundum, quam ex secundo in novissimum detrudi. Suet. *Caes.* 29.

[2] Sir Henry Wotton, Ambassador at Venice.

[3] Sir David Murray was attached to the Prince of Wales (Henry). Ellis' Letters xi. 166.

[4] As we should now call it 1608.

VI.

Bedell's letter, from Venice to Mr Adam Newton, giving an account of the state of the church and religion there; Jan. 1, $160\frac{8}{9}$.

[Tanner MSS LXXV. f. 18.]

Right Reverend and Worshipfull Sir,

It is now a year since, that writing to you concerning the sick estate of the church here, I put you notwithstanding in the expectation to receive from me some news of the hoped recovery of the same. I have not since been unmindfull of that promise; and if I had soe, I might have been admonish'd thereof by the receipt of 2 very kind letters from you, with the assurance of your love, and good acceptance of my former endeavours in this poor kind to answer it, and the addition of greater encouragement, than ever I could deserve, or hope for. But that, which the father of medicine says of bodily sickness, is here much more true, ἡ κρίσις χαλεπή: Wherefore, as there they are wont to tarry for certain criticall days, wherein they observe the motions of nature, ere they pronounce; soe hath it been necessary to me in this case. Now the same being past, and portending a longer cure; I have yet with the opportunity of this bearers journey into England, determin'd to acquaint you with the like courses that have been used, and certain noe ill signs of safety yet remaining.

Understand then, good Sir, that since it hath pleased my Lord Ambassador to communicate with me some part of his religious counsells, for the bringing in of reformation into this Signory; (a matter not onely in my poor opinion, but in the deeper judgments of others of singular importance, as well for the propagation of the truth, and advancement of God's honour, wherein we are all interested in the highest degree; as allso for the secureing of his Majesty, and other princes of the reformed religion, from the continuall incumberance, which they find by the Pope's daily practiceing with their subjects, by the Jesuits, and other his instruments; who sitting hitherto securely here in Italy, wars with his enemies in his confines, at their only expence, and without his own hazzard; whereas if there were but any reformation begun in Italy, he should be inforced to divert his thoughts and forces homewards, to narrow his designes and look to his own head and heart, and in a word, as wise men here think, he were sped for ever:) since (I say) it hath pleased his Lordship to count me worthy to participate of his intentions in this business, and in some part of them to make me, how insufficient soever, a willing instrument of putting them in execution: I have observed, as methinks, three principall scopes of his proceeding. The first to maintaine the states here in heart and courage against the Pope, and that, which they more fear, the power of Spaine, by which he is backt.—The second to increase the number of those, that have receiv'd any light of the truth. The 3d,

and last (if he might he soe happy as to effect it) to formalize, and unite into some body of a congregation, some part at least of that great number, which here stand allready alienated in heart and tongue from Rome: Whereunto there is noe doubt but there would daily be access made; especially upon any new breach with the Pope, were the same once establish'd and on foot?

1. Of these 3 the former is somewhat beyond the limits of my profession, being wholly Civill; and besides that, the means used by his Lordship to attaine it must be his secret offices in College, wherewith 'tis not fitt I should be made acquainted. Yet because, speaking according to man, it is the most important scope of all the rest, even like to the maintaining the vitall faculty in the endeavouring to cure any bodily sickness; I will say somewhat of it as by conjecture, and with respect not alone to his Lordship's effects, but those also, which other occurents may in this kind have made, or be like to make in this state. In which purpose it is fitt first to be remembred, that ordinarily they are noted as rather too patient in their proceedings, than very sensible and eager; whether it proceed from the temper and complexion of their policy, as consisting of soe many judgments, forecasting all imaginable doubts and difficulties, and finally resolveing into the safest course; or it be rather the election of prudence, which is dull in the feeling of such ill, where the ease that may follow the cure is not like to be worth the pain, that must be abidden under the chirurgeons hand. Soe as it must not be looked for, that they should make soe full, and strong demonstration of their resolution, as others would doe in like cases; no not then, when perhaps inwardly it is no lesse.

From this patience I account it proceeded, that beyond expectation they were content the Patriarch should goe to Rome for his confirmation: a matter long consulted and protracted; at length yielded to the importunity of the patriarch himself, his friends, and allyes; furthered by all the Popish faction, and those of the indifferent sort, that looked for the advancement of themselves or some of theirs by him. And indeed (as I have heard some, that have heard the bottom of these affairs, discourse) there was not left to the better sort any honest colour to resist it; as being a wrong to hold him in this neutral estate, that neither he might have the right of a Senator for his election to this Ecclesiasticall dignity, nor appear as a church-man, wanting his inauguration: soe that he was like the flittermouse, that is in the fable, between a bird and a beast, taking part with either and refused of both. But especially that consideration prevailed, that by this once sending they should be freed from the necessity of ever doeing it again: whereof they were assured not onely by the letter of the Cardinall Borghesse, the Pope's nephew that manageth all the affairs of the court, and by express command of the Pope; but (as they required) by the Pope's averrment thereof to the Fr. King's ambassador at Rome, to all which the peace was yet new, and they were to make good that they abhorred not even from moderate obedience, soe long as extreme slavery was not required. And yet here is it not to be forgotten on the other side,

that when the Patriarch seemed to them to stay over long at Rome, they recalled him home, and finding since his returne, that he especially had induced one Ribetti his vicar (one of the Divines, whose name was used to a book against the Pope in the former troubles) to goe to Rome for absolution, they enterd into deliberation to committ him as prisoner to his own house; but resolved to inhibitt him the use of the faculty the Pope had granted him, for the disposeing of the revenue of the Jesuits (being in all their territories, as 'tis esteemed, above 20000 Crowns a yeare) save only on such of their own subjects, as to themselves shall upon his intimation of the names of such as need it be thought fitt.

The like quickness have they shewed in some other occasions; especially that, which I account most famous because it borders most upon religion. A certain Gentleman of the house of the Bondumeiri intending to take the pardon, which the Pope sent out in forme of a Jubilee (under pretence to stirr up men's devotions, to pray for the quiet of christendom, which himself had troubled by setting up the Archduke Matthias against the Emperor in Germany[1]; in truth to cover that fraud of his, and principally to draw into his hands the bookes written against him in this state, and heale up, if he could, the sore perfectly,) being demanded in his confession, if he had any of those books, and enjoyned to burne them; thereupon denounced the Friar his confessour: who was presently called and, not appearing, banished. Whereof the Nuncio complaineing with the Prince, and shewing, that he marvelld much, that they would intermeddle in Spirituall matters of this sort between the penitent and his ghostly father; adding, that those books could not be retain'd by any that would be partaker of the Jubilee; he had this answer, that if it were soe, he should gett him to Rome with his Jubilee, and leave them alone with their books. The Friar wrote after to the State, that he was falsely accused, and demanded to have a reaudition of his cause: which being granted, on condition to render himself prisoner, he soe did, being yet remitted to his own monastery: but his cause (I think) will never be called on, the state contenting themselves with the example and ratification of their power in this kind.

I omitt sundry like declarations, with their holding out with good stiffness against Rome, which would be farr more than it is at least evident, were it not that the Spanish greatness ever in their eye doth curb and keep them in awe. They have lately in their banishing the Florence sages made noe small demonstration of their observeing how much the strength of Spaine is like to be encreas'd in Italy by the late marriage of the prince of Tuscany into the house of Austria, to the sister of the King of Spain: by the means of which he is become brother to the King in name, and indeed his pupill, if not vassall; soe much being to the eternal memory of the great Duke his baseness, and the Spanish insolency published to the world by

[1] In April 1606 the Archduke Matthias entered into a family compact for the deposition of his brother the Emperor Rodolph II., and was declared head of the House of Hapsburg. It does not appear that the Pope had anything to do with it; and indeed the events which followed were unfavourable to the Catholics.

the very instrument of the King's consent to the contract, that the Duke had supplicated to the Majesty Catholick, that for the support of his estate and strength of his house he would be pleased to grant his consent to the marrying of the Lady to the Prince his son. And if they doe but cast their eyes on Savoy, they may by that example make conjecture[1], what an allye Spain is like to be; unless it be probable, the simplicity of that youth of Florence shall priviledge him from it, which the cunning, and valour of the other could not: It is true the Duke of Savoy doth begin to distaste the homely usage that he finds at his brother's hands; that he hath marryed his two daughters to Modena and Mantva, allmost in his despight, who first delayed, after hindered this combination of these princes all that he might; that he hath revoked his Ambassador from thence, with some shew of obedience. But albeit this please the Venetians, and they have endeavoured to shew all honour to these marriages, and to the prince, and his brother of Savoy, who were a little before entertaind here with much solemnity: they doe much doubt, whether that Prince would ever be induced to forgoe 6000 crowns of yearly pension, which he and his receive, with the hope of as much more, for the impatience of some Spanish bravadoes, or desire of new friendships. Yea and some doe make question, whether having received the bridle of at least 4000 souldiers divided into garrisons in sundry of his best towns, it be not now too late to kick at the spurr. Others proceed further, and say, that by these marriages there lackes now little, or nothing to the Spaniard, but the state of Venice to the makeing up of the entire government of Italy. The Kingdom of Naples, and Dutchie of Millaine are in his hands. As for the City of Genoa, they doubt if it could be of greater benefitt to them, if the name of liberty were gone allso, than now it is. Lucca is in his protection, and hath reason to doubt, whether their old patron will gratifie their heavy neighbour, his new brother of Tuscany, or himself rather with their ruine. The Pope is, and allways shall be chosen and governed by the Spanish Canons. The Duke of Savoy is his brother pensioner, and receives his forces for caution of his fidelity. The old Duke of Florence cannot by course of Nature live long, and then the like protection shall he have of that estate. Those of Mantua, and Modena his Nephews shall in time succeed. The Duke of Urbin is his pensioner. The Dukes of Parma and Placentia, with the Earl Mirandula are in the same condition. In sum it skills not, under what titles; he hath allready the things, and that royalty, that noe man will, yea or can make war upon him in Italy, and he at pleasure shall begin, where he sees advantage. And if this new conjunction with France should take place or the truce with the Estates of the Netherlands[2], what can be expected, but the whole weight of the warr turne upon Italy, and light upon the Venetians, the greater, if not the onely barr left in the King of Spaine his way to the attaineing the top of his desires.

It cannot easily be so expressed, in what agony they have stood here,

[1] Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, had married a daughter of Philip II.

[2] See ante p. 234.

and yet doe, in the expectation of this peace, or truce with the Hollanders, and how exceedingly they distaste the violence of the French King in it. They did in secret scarse abstaine from reproachfull speeches, accounting him such an advantagious and cautelous prince, as with whom there is noe dealing; whom no man may trust longer, than it shall be for his own profitt. And this language proceeds all from the fear of Spaine; the which howsoever they dissemble, yet by this anger and other affections it doth easily bewray itself. When the breach fell out in the house of Austria, it was a wonder to see how joyous they were, how inquisitive of the progress of these affairs; especially when it appeared manifestly, that this was a plott ordered and directed by Rome and Spaine, with the consent of others of that house, as by the copy of the justification of it by the Archduke Ferdinando, which by good hap came abroad doth appear. And if (as it is hoped) these stirrs doe cause the protestant princes of the Empire to unite themselves (as but for the bitterness of some Lutherane Ministers, might, as it seems, without much difficulty be brought to pass) there is nothing in this world, that the Venetians would sooner lay hold upon, or which would more seasonably present it self for the confirming of their courage, and diminishing that fear, which now possesseth them. Whereof there is great reason; since haveing common enemies with those Princes,—the Pope, Spaine, and the house of Austria,—they should easily be joynd by that necessity and firmly knitt together; the situation of their countries being allso not incommodious to help one another in all occasions.

In the mean season, if it be true, that is said, that where there is trust there is love, and the degrees of that love be proportionable to the confidence whence it grows; if the tongue be not a false pulse of the abundance of the heart; if by the useage of the servant there may be any conjecture taken of the respect had to the master, it behoves certainly to think that those Seignors have placed noe small part of the surety of their affairs in his excellent Majesty; and that the continuall remonstrances of his real and true affecting the safety and prosperous success of their estate, made by his Minister here, be the best cordiall that he could administer to them: which not onely the love, honour, and authority, that his Majesty's name hath, but the grace of his Ambassador above any other in this place, as every mean man both in City and Country doth easily observe, may well witness. Yea, and over this, the desire, which I have not obscurely perceived they have, with any good occasion to enter into more strait and near bond of alliance with his Majesty: even Nature (whereunto prudence is like in her working) being wont to have an appetite to that medicine again, which she hath once found comfortable. I add this one thing for conclusion touching this part, that although this course in them be wise, and such as, I confess, rejoyceth me much, (as what should in reason more than the honour of my prince?) yet setting aside now that respect, and speaking abstractly of the courage of this estate; even this seems to me to be an argument of the want of inward strength to repose much in that of another: (as it seems in nature in these plants, which easily clasp hold on their neighbours) which as being borrowed and holden at courtesie cannot

produce those effects of inward sufficiency, either high resolution in undertaking, or constancy and punctuallness in resisting, when there is any thing to be done nobly, or expected undismaiedly.

2. I come now to his Lordship's second end, which hath doubtless noe ill counsell of an ill man, that advised his fellow in faction to procure to adjoyne to himself the helps of all, even the weakest; and it is the course which the adverse party hitherto have most constantly pursued, to practice the multitude, though they bestow more cost on principall persons; but a course to be used of such who have store of instruments, or may be more open in their proceedings. As for those that are scanted in the one and watched over in the other, it is better to take them to the labouring of some few principall, which shall draw their dependants, than by embraceing a greater number of ordinary condition, distract their own forces, spend time, discover and overthrow their intentions: especially considering it is the course of nature, to forme first the principall parts, as the seate of life and nourishment; and that of wisedome, yea of necessity, to make the tools before we begin the worke.

Upon this ground it hath been thought fitt, though not denying to communicate books of our religion to any that were found disposed to read them, yet especially to vse that and other meanes to those who are of note and marke for authority and learning; and those chiefly who by writeing against the Pope in the last controversie, must be thought in reason to have their judgments awaked, and made more capeable of right information in all the rest. And that by reading, rather than reasoning, they might soonest come to the understanding of the truth, was thought upon this ground: because the understanding is soe more calm from affection; ignorance and contrary opinion is not discovered; and the reader hath part of the victory over error. In the execution of this counsell, after I had by a letter made myself an entry with M^ro^ Paulo, I communicated to him, and M^ro^ Fulgentio all most all our English writers that are extant in latin touching the controversies, with some others; as Chemnitius his Examen of the Councell of Trent, Calvins institutions[1]; although M^ro^ Paulo had seen his last for sundry years past. The same course hath been used to Marsilio, though not by me, by reason of some secret emulation which was discovered between him and those I mention'd before. Like wise to Fulgentio the Franciscan whose revolt, because I knew not if it bred greater joy to the adverse part, anger here, or marvell to my self, it may be perhaps more agreeable to your desire to understand more particularly off him.

After it was then resolved by the advice of M^ro^ Paulo, that I should

[1] Chemnitius, Martinus, *A Discoverie and Batterie of the great Fort of unwritten Traditions*, translated into English by R. V. Lond. 1582. The first article in this book is an "Examination of the Counsell of Trent." [Martin Chemnitz—a great protestant divine—was b. at Treunbridzen in 1522, ob. at Brunswick, 8 Apr. 1586. His *Examen Concilii Tridentini* was published in 4 vols. at Leipzig, 1565.] Calvin's *Institutes* (published at Basel 1534) were reprinted in London 1576 and have been repeatedly translated, first in 1561.

deale with him, And Mr Powells booke *de Antichristo*[1] was not esteemed unfitt to be commended him, for the concurrence it seemed to have with his own spirit (who, as I signified to you heretofore, was in all his sermons very vehement, and invective against the vices of the Roman court;) I sent the same to him, accompanyed with a letter; and after came to him, discoverd my self the author of it, and was used with marvellous kindness. Upon which grew severall other conferences, much discourse and trust, he communicating with me many things of his life past; his former troubles at Rome, from which he said when he came last away, he shook off the dust of his feet; his conference with the Jesuits; his putting down, since he had their College and church, the picture of Ignatius, and others of their order, which their followers were superstitious of; his reading of St Cyprian's Epistle to his brethren, in which, as he said, he let them see the difference of the ancient church government, and the present state of the Roman Court: St Cyprian writeing thus to the Bp of Rome, *Cyprianus Cornelio fratri salutem;* not, *Sanctissimo Domino Nostro*, nor, *Oscula beatorum pedum.* He shew'd me some of his writeings not yet printed, as a book of the Saints of Venice, with an exceeding good Epistle dedicatory to the nobility, handling especially the point of Canonizing Saints, which he proved out of the Affrican Councill, and shewed out of story to be a new usurpation in Rome. In summ, I telling him, that 'twas too good to be suffer'd to pass the presse here; he told me further of a deliberation he had, to remove himself hence either into Germany or the Grizons, to stamp that, and sundry other things of the like nature. I found him (me thought) meetly well inform'd about the worship of Saints, and gave him Mr Perkins his *Probleme*, which he liked exceedingly. I lent him allso Calvin's *Institutes*, which he shew'd me, he had been long desirous off, and was as joyous, when he had it. I prevail'd soe farr with him, that whereas in a room at the entrance of his monastery there hung a picture of the English persecution (as here they stile it) cut in sundry forms of brass; haveing told him of the palpable lyeing and vanity of it, he promised it should be defaced. He shewed himself desirous to have secret speech with his Lordship whereof offer being made when and as he would, he putt it off till some fitter occasion.

In the midst of this course 'twas suddainly noised, that he was departed, and at first noe man knew whether. I least feared to Rome, till it appeared soe by his letter left to the prince; wherein he said, he was called by his generall, and must obey, presumeing this should not be offensive to his Serenity, who would look for obedience at his own subject's hands; especially sith himself had noe part of the Counsells of the state committed to him. Immediately after the copy of the safe-conduct, which the Nuncio gave him by order from the Pope, came into mens hands, and the voyce went, that the Spanish Ambassador had disbursed to a Friar of his order,

[1] *Gabrielis Poueli, Ordovicis Britanni, Davidis F. Disputationum Theologicarum et Scholasticarum de Antichristo et eius ecclesia* Libri duo. Lond. 1605. See Wood's *Athenae.*

that accompanyed him, a good round summ of doubles for the charge of his journey, by the way of Ferrara or Bononia, I remember not justly whether. It fell out, that 2 or 3 Cardinalls being in the place used him with much respect; whereof he wrote to Venice, that he had more honour done him in 3 dayes there, than in all the time of his being at Venice. By this you may partly perceive the humour of the man. And verily from the begining I saw in him a strange composition: a contempt of riches, and outward pomp, even to defyeing allmost of cleanliness; yet withall an ambition of honour, especially of the opinion of a certaine Apostolicall fullness and freedome in reproofs; complaining of nothing more, than that he might not preach; sudden in his resolutions besides, as they say. I knew him better by longer experience, close, uncounselld, unmoveable from his purposes. As for his sermons, they never containd any great stuff which might argue depth of learning: but with his goodness of speech, shew of spirit, and free reproof of great men's faults, he led the multitude in the time of the interdict, it cannot (they say all that heard him) be easily express'd how much. I have heard it very certainly avouched, that but very few dayss before his departure, he wrote a letter to the patriarch then in Rome, telling him that he was mov'd by the spirit of God to write to him, blameing him for his long absence from his flock, and for goeing for worldly honour at the court of Rome: yea for his journey thither, who (as he said) ought to have contented himself with the consent of his comprovinciall Bishops, without any other confirmation. It hath been allso written from Rome, at his comeing thither he was well entertaind, and had an hour or 2 Secret conference with the Pope: Mean while the Generall of the Jesuits being come to speak with his holiness, (as their stile is) and wearied with tarrying soe long, gave out at his departure from the place some discontentfull speeches; which comeing to Fulgentio his knowledge, he used openly this forme, *Nay, I will anger them worse yet.* To make you marvell yet more; he hath from thence by a trusty friend written a letter to Mre Paulo, with good words of my self, and sent my Calvin's *Institutes*, signifieing withall that he holds the other 2 books as given him absolutely; serveing him self of them to good purpose, as we shall see one day, and perhaps ere long; complaineing of the wrong done him since his departure, and promiseing to certifie him of his estate[1] &c.

[1] The sequel of these proceedings in regard to Fulgentio is given in the proscript of a fragmentary letter of Bedell to Dr Ward dated July 23, 1618, here subjoined. "For newes, you shall vnderstand that Fra fulgentio the franciscan is notwithstanding his safe conduct burnt at Rome; his processe made solemnly in St Peter's Church; 1 for hauing had prohibited bookes. 2 for hauing had correspondence with hereticks. 3 for hauing found about him at his apprehension certaine writings in which were many articles hereticall as, 1 that Peter was not head of the Apostles nor the P. of the Church. 2 the Pope cannot choose Bishops. 3 The Prelats of the Church of Rome are hereticks. 4 The counsell of Trent was nether general nor lawfull. 5 The Eucharist should be celebrated in leauened bread. His answers. 1 that he had no bookes that he knew to be of prohibited authors. 2 nor had correspondence with any denounced publickly

I have been the longer in this narration, that I might give you the more full evidence of the possibility to resolve what to judge of him; a thing wherein (I confess it) my self am wholly confounded. This methinks may be said upon the whole matter; that this state committed an error, in not cherrishing him a little more, (yea tho it had been by procureing to sattisfie some way his ambition;) being such a necessary instrument, as he was, to worke upon the multitude; and if not for his former merits, yet for the needs they might have of such another, they know not how soon. Which if they had done, they had avoided this loss and scorne, to omit the prejudice, which the Example of his revolt hath done in their Cause in the opinion of the people. Since his departure, the Vicar allso of the Patriarch hath followed, and (as 'tis here said) hath received a pension of 500 crowns by the yeare of the pope: even this in reason had not soe easily been, if the other had not been before it.

To returne to the means here thought upon, to further the knowledge of the truth with the nobility, as well as Ecclesiastics: it hath been considerd, that to propound the same in its own naked simplicity to men either blinded with superstition, or that by the onely light of reason discerning the vizor of that religion, which is among themselves, have thereupon closed their eyes to any representation of that sort; it were but to expose it to contempt, and as it were to demand a repulse. The same read gladly discourses of policy: soe as under that name if religion could be convey'd, it were like to find much better entertainment. And this course some of the ancients are found to have used, that represented the Christian faith under the name of philosophy, which all then much esteem'd. Agreeably whereunto it would perhaps be very convenient in our times, to convey the reproofs of the abuses and errors of the papacy in politick discourses, discovering the great drifts thereof: which in truth should be very just allso before God and man; that, as they have a great while propounded and set forth to the world their own politick devices under the mask of religion, soe men might see now at last their religion in the true and naturall shape of policy. In this kind there is extant allready in our tongue a work soe proper to that purpose, as if God had directed the pen of the author to that speciall end, to doe him service in this place. It is the relation of Sir Edwyn Sands[1] that I mean; which being thought fitt to be translated into Italian, I undertook the work, and by Gods assistance have finished it this last summer (the Fathers correcting my Errors in the Language). It hath been divided into chapters, and in the end of some of them are added some annotations, to declare some things therein touched.

for heretickes. 3 that his writing was not yet finished and that those were not his opinions. It is sayd he abjured vpon hope of life."

[1] *Europae Speculum*, or a view or survey of the state of religion in the Western part of the World, by Sir Edwin Sandys, Lond. 1605. Sands or Sandys, b. 1561, ob. 1629, was a son of Edwin Sandys, Archbishop of York. He was a pupil and devoted friend of Hooker. Walton tells some charming stories of him in the *Life* of Hooker.

This his Lordship hath had on purpose to put to the press with all convenient speed. Some parts of it in the mean time have been shewed to principall men here, and I doe believe to the Prince himself: whereof when we should have seen any Effect (and great it will be sure, if wise men's judgments be not deceived in it) then was it resolved to be put in execution.

3. The 3d deliberation, which I mentiond in the begining, forming some congregation here. The chief means, that was intended to be used herein, was the comeing of Mro John Deodati[1], the translator of the late-printed Italian bibles, from Geneva hither; for whom his Lordship had written above a year since, by the advice allso of the fathers. But the difficulty of the passage in winter, and his own occasions after that, deferr'd it till July, and from that till Autumn: at which time his Lordship wrote to him, to stay his journey till he should hear further; as desirous to try first the effect of the fore mentioned booke. Notwithstanding it being come out both in France, and Germany, that he was shortly to come hither, he was forc'd to hasten his journey; and in September he arrived here in the company of a gentleman of Geneva his cousin, and another his nephew (both young men), and a French Gentleman sent from Mr Plessis from Saumure, called Mr de Lugues. He had divers meetings and conferences with the Fathers, at which both my self and this bearer was present. He can report to you the particular points discussed. It was told him by Mro Paulo, that not soe few as 12000 in this Citty were more or less enlightened with the truth, and alienated from Rome. That yet among the nobility nothing could be moved untill there were some Civill occasion of breach with the Pope. With them therefore he would not that he should yet deale; but with others, to whom he should be brought, chiefly merchants, Germans, Flemings, French; of whom not long before a certain French Gentleman had made a list, with the severall summs they would contribute to a minister. That he would try the dispositions of soe many as he could; yet for his part, he thought the matter not yet disposed enough to receive such a form as was to be desired. He propounded other meetings at first to be used by way of conference and talk; whereby men might come to know one another, and informe themselves better of religion, ere any exercises were erected, &c.

Now, Sir, you shall understand, that the French Gentleman (whose name was Mr Papilion) haveing indeed conference with Mro Paulo, and being animated to take that pains,—whether out of his mistakeing him, or hopeing to facilitate the business by that means,—had used this motive: that the prince, and senate did not abhor herefrom, but would favour and further this course. Whereupon the Merchants, being not ill affected, and seeing no fear of danger, were very forward, and would stick for noe money; hopeing especially to doe a thing that the Signory should take in good part. And the Gentleman being desirous, that such a good work

[1] John Diodati of Lucca (about 1580—1649), professor first of Hebrew and then of Divinity at Geneva, translator of the Bible into French and Italian.

should take place presently according to the humour of some, which is desired; and hereupon filled the reformed Churches in all France with the noyse, that Venice would shortly fall from the Pope,—a harder worke, and of longer time, as well appeared even by those that had thus far engag'd themselves. For some, when they perceived they runn'd the hazard of their goods and liberty, presently drew back: soe hard a thing it is to follow Christ with the condition of the cross and leaving all. Others tho' makeing profession, yet were knowne to live scandalously: and what security could there be, to committ to the conscience of such men a business of this sort? It was urged by my self with earnestness, that at least some beginning might be made of a congregation, tho' it were but of very few faithfull and sound persons; which like a little snow falling from the top of a hill, would gather more and more to it in time. A form of separation was presented, which might serve for the profession of such as should be admitted. And for a confession of the faith, it was shewed that good advantage might be made of a certain short summ of the Scripture, stamp'd here in Venice in the year 1567, before the bible in the Italian, with the licence of the Inquisition; which embraces all necessary and fundamentall parts of the faith without any the least touch of Popish corruption. That for a Liturgie and forme of ministring the Lords Supper, if it should be thought fitt to use that of the French churches, it was allready in the Italian, and we had the booke. If they thought others fitt, which I had shewed the Fathers before in latin, and Mr Deodati had seen, it should not be long before 'twas put into Italian; as indeed I had then begun, and since finished it. It was added, that the affections of men since the peace of Rome grew daily colder and colder; that it was a principle of warr, that when our own strength is at the best, and that of our adversaries may encrease, then, if ever, we must fight. But Mr Deodati thought it not fitt to hazard the whole upon soe small hope; especially considering that none of the nobility did joyne. There wanted allso a fitt person to be minister: for both himself was now but onely Reader of Divinity and Hebrew; and doubted, that his travail should be of more use and necessity to the Church of God in Geneva, than it could be here; tho' professing his readiness to be employed in that business, if he could see hope of doeing good. The Fathers prevented my offer of my self with saying, It was not fitt nor easy in regard of jealousies of state; no, nor that I should be present often at any such Ridotti, or meetings, as we before had thought off for the second intention. Thus was that deliberation broken off, with this onely fruit, that Mr Deodati travelled with M^ro^ Paulo to put more spirit and courage in him; and to stirr him up to availe himself both of those great graces that God had given him, and that favour and authority which he hath with these Seigniors, to the glory of God in the advancement of the truth. He departed allso with full information of the state of this place; and prepared to send hither some young Scholars, which should be as Schoole masters in the houses of some that desired it; not letting pass to read the holy scriptures, and useing secrett instructions, till more fitt occasions should publickly be offer'd.

Such success had that journey, hastened a little too much, that we had well hoped should have brought with it the perfect judgment or this churches recovery. Now as physicians of our bodies are some times by an anticipateing an imperfect crisis remitted over to another criticall day; soe are we. That shall be (I hope) the preaching of Mr Fulgentio this Lent: who is resolved, leaveing the Fryerly course of the ordinary postillers[1], to preach Christ Jesus, and that will be the ruine of Antichrist. There passeth allmost noe day, wherein we are not for an hour together: and under pretence of reading English to him (as indeed this last summer I made some entrance therein to him, and M^ro^ Paulo, and haveing given some rules of our language we read over the Acts of the Apostles together) under this colour, we read, and conferrd about the whole course of the Gospells, on which he is to preach every day this Lent: and I perswade my self, Christ is present with vs, and am assured, that the end shall not be without some profitt.

I add thus much further, that the Lord seems to encourage vs, by permitting the adversaries to fall into such errors, as are proper to shew their madness to the world. Besides that proud, and blasphemous inscription of Friar Caraffa his Thesis, whereof a Ritratto was sent by his Lordship to his Majesty, where the Pope is thus stiled, PAVLO V. VICE DEO and the numerall letters whereof (as I remember, I shewed to Fulgentio) containe the just number of the beast 666[2]. This last week there is come forth a book reviveing that blasphemy with advantage, penned by one Benedictus a Venetian, the bayardliest[3] writer, that ever blotted paper. He hath taken in hand to Refute the position of Dr Whitaker, that the Pope is Antichrist, &c[4]. Trust me, Sir, when I first saw it, I did think verily, it had been a draught of some well meaneing man towards Religion, that was desireous the world should take notice, and knowledge of the writeing he pretends to refute, and failed in the answer on set purpose. Soe beastly[3] and loathsome is the stile, the conceit soe childish, the answer so absurd, the flattery, and folly of it soe palpable. In the consultation, that was here about the calling it in, M^ro^ Paulo, as he told me, resisted it. But being of one of their own subjects, who when he could get licence to print it here would needs print it at Bolonia, and besides touching not only forreign states but their own, as you may see in the 50th page, it is not sufferd to be sold openly. These good effects I doe contemplate in it. First the

[1] Italian *postillare* 'to expound.'

[2] DCLVVVI. See p. 234.

[3] *bayard* 'stupid'. Fr. *bayer* 'to gape'. The word 'beastly' had not the vulgar connotation of to-day. It meant 'doltish,' 'uncultivated.'

[4] William Whitaker (1548—1595), Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge (1571), Regius Professor of Divinity (1580) and Master of St John's (1586). Among his numerous controversial works were: An answer to forty demonstrations of Nich. Sander that the Pope was not Antichrist (Latin), Lond. 1583; also in the same year a *Thesis de Antichristo in Comitiis Cantabrigiensibus*. Whitaker's chief opponent was Bellarmine. He was a strong supporter of the English Church, but not in sympathy with the extreme Puritans.

position it self is made notorious. Then Dr Whitaker's declaration and proof of it shall be read; for it is inserted ad verbum. Lastly the weakness of the answer shall confirm the staggering reader, whom the grossness of the flattery to the pope and railing against his adversaries shall have scandalized. In summ, I think, if the world would have studied to have done the pope a shrewd turne, it could not have done it soe well, as by publishing such a bald thing in his favour. And how should we not then hope for success, when God takes away our adversaries witts and makes themselves doe us those offices, which we could most desire and hardliest effect.

Thus have I endeavourd to shew you, Sir, the bottom of our former counsells, present estate, and future hopes. Wherein though my poor desire hath not been backward, the matter it self being of such importance, as I could wish with the Apostle to bestow and spend my self in it: Yet when I look upon that, which is done, it is yet very little, or nothing to account off. That which is must next to God be attributed to the wise conduct of his Lordship, whose instrument only I have been in this service. There rests noe more, but to commend that to your prayers and wise secrecy, and my self to your love. In the assurance whereof I will take the boldness to commend to you this Gentleman, the bearer hereof, allready presented to his Majesty by his Lordship; whom besides all other his sufficiencies (which will commend him wherever he comes) I esteem truly religious, zealous, and in a word such as the wise King doubts if a man may find any where, 'a faithfull man.' And soe remembring my service to his highness[1] (whose hands I humbly kiss) and beseeching daily the highest Majesty to encrease in him all princely Excellencies, that (if it be not too bold a wish) his name may be more famous, than that of the King his noble father; I take leave, and doe rest,

Your worshipp's, most ready
allways to doe you service
W. Bedell.

[The Signature and Corrections are by Abp. Sancroft.]

VII.

Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward, relative to a reply preparing by the letter to Bellarmine's answer to K. James's "Triplici nodo triplex cuneus" (1609).

[Tanner MSS LXXV. f. 131.]

Salutem in Christo. Good Mr Warde, In my last letters to you I signified what I thought of Bellarmines late Booke and was bold to imparte to you what pointes woulde be of principall vse and satisfaction to men

[1] Henry, Prince of Wales.

indifferently affected here. I will now be bolde to adde one thing more, in that part. Viz. that in the passage of his Majesty's Baptisme which the Cardinall so sleightly passeth by, as to the Font sent by the Queene that dead is, there is a point which strikes nearer by him then he was aware of, or at least would be aknowne of, and that is the very inviting her to be God-mother. Vpon whom the institution and use of the Ancient and present Church (yea that of Rome too) laying a kind of charge to instruct the Infant when it comes to yeares of discretion, and in the meane time to profess in the name thereof the fayth wherinto it is to be baptized, it is an euident Argument that his Majesty's mother (what ever he boldly would beare downe with conjectures) had not that opinion of the Reformed religion which the Popish faction now hath. Since the last tyme I wrote vnto you, there is come forth a part of a great worke of Politick Morall and Christian aduertisments or observations, written by one that professeth to haue communicated about this worke with many principall of the Popish crew. I haue gathered certaine flowers out of it which you shall receiue herewith and the booke it selfe. By which it may appeare what the inward and commonly currant opinions of the Court of Rome are. There are sundry thinges which may be of some use in the Answer of Bellarmine, as about the Comparison of the Pope and Kings, of Kinges and Cardinals, &c. and I referr it to your and their considerations that are there in place and authority if it might not be profitable that those propositions which I haue there set downe (for the most word for word) were put to the presse with some short notes &c. I haue sent you by this bearer the booke it selfe. Pardon this scribling and hast, it is now past midnight this Christmas Euen after our account.

Your euer assured louing
freend

W. Bedell.

To my Verie louing freend Mr
Samuell Warde at his chamber
in Kings Street or else
where in London.

VIII.

Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; from Bury St Edmunds, after his return from Venice; Aug. 3, 1613.

[Tanner MSS LXXIV. f. 29.]

Salutem in Christo. I wrote to you euen now, Good Mr Dr, about our Drs booke and sent you from him the remainder of the money due to you from him with 10*s.* for the Printer. The feare I had that our townsmen would be gone towards Newmarket ere I should haue finished my

letter, made me reserve the answer unto your last to this letter: sith it seemes a man may better committ any thing to our Carrier than money[1].

I haue beene in Norfolke. The liuing is consisting of 2 or perhaps (for yet I cannot tell) 3 Churches. The house nought. The aire in one of the parishes very bad, the other better, but it hath no house. The value, if all goe to gether that are due to the Churches, wilbe about 120*li.* or more, but there must be a Curate or 2 maintained and a new house built. I haue not yet given my answer. Once I will neuer accept it with the least wrong to the Church. So I wish you a happy and merry journey into the west, where I pray remember my service to my Lord of Bath and commendations to our Emmanuell Colledge freends. My wife and our Dr remember them hartily to you.

Your assured loving freend
W. Bedell.

IX.

Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; requests Sir Hen. Wotton's leave to publish a relation of Venice; claims to a prebend by reason of his works; Nov. 30, 1613.

[Tanner MSS LXXIV. f. 31.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, vnderstanding by my Cosin Alistone[2] of your being in London, I will take the boldnes to trouble you a litle with a buisines, wherein I haue heeretofore breathed out some of my thoughts to you. I haue written to Sir Henry Wootton about his booke, offering him my service to write it out to the presse, and to see it printed, both mine owne and your diligence, in case he thinck fitt to set it forth. If not, I haue earnestly requested him to give me leaue to print that Relation of the Venetian buisines which he hath of mine in his hands. Protesting that I doe it not with a desire to make it any step to mine owne preferment (although my charge encreasing, and my maintenance beeing so slender, I am enforced to haue some carefull thoughts about that also) but for the common good, and hoping to add to it a 2d part touching sundry things fallen out since, which it concernes the world to know. Now, Sir, that which I would request from you is, that you would visit Sir Henry ere he take his voyage into France, and procure to talke with him about his booke, making offer to further it in conformity to that I haue before mentioned: and if he fall into the mention of my English Relation, and seeme willing to leaue it with you, receiue it at his hands, otherwise take no notice of that part of my letter. Possibly Sir Henry may be not vnwilling to mention me to his Majesty for some Prebend ere his departure, and to leaue in his absence

[1] A Latin answer to some propositions of Ward's on predestination and original sin is here omitted, as being treated of elsewhere more fully.

[2] John Alliston (or Elliston) of Black Notley, buried 15 Oct. 1625.

the prosecuting of the motion to my Lord of Bath[1]. Whereto he might haue some pretence from those slender services I endeauoured to performe at Venice, in Translating the Booke of Common Prayer, his Majesty's Booke[2], Sir Edwin Sands[3] his booke, The third Homily of Chrysostome touching Lazarus, and some other thinges into the Italian toung; part whereof are there and part at Geneva in Sir Diodati his hands, as my Cosin Aliston can tell. If it please you to motion such a thing to him, you shall discerne how he stands affected to me. For my part I haue alwaies honoured him and truly served him, as you know in part; and though I went not into Italy with a desire of rising by him, and I thanck God I haue learned to be in want with contentment, yet it should be reputation to him and some encouragement to others, that shall faythfully serve God and the Church with his Majesty in such Ambassages, not wholely to neglect me, that I say not to hinder me. And I am assured that some in Venice haue their eyes vpon me, making conjecture by my successe, of that which they might looke for themselues, in case they should transport their bodyes, as their mindes are already, into these parts. To whom I could more liberally make offer of my selfe, if I had any thing to spare, or did not find by experience what small hopes I should invite them to. Sir, I persuade my selfe you will attribute this tediousnes to the confidence and freedome of our freendship, and so carry this buisines as Sir Henry may not interpret it as if I were ill satisfied of him, who I must professe dealt both in my allowance there, and at my retourne very honourably with me, howeuer by the false dealing of Mr Cogan I lost a great part of it. It shall suffice if you offer him this project; whereby I thinck I may perceiue whether he minde me any good or no. One thing more there is, whereof I would desire to be aduertised: viz. if there be any man that hath vndertaken the answer of Marc' Antonio Capello his booke, which hath now beene out 3 yeares without answer. If I were assured there were none I would vndertake it my selfe. My Lord of Bath of lykelyhood can informe you certainely, or my Lord of Ely[4] if he be in London. Though I be not all the emptiest of busines, yet I would hope to borrow so much time from my ordinary employments as to dispatch it in a short space, if I were sure not to loose my labour. Concluding with mine owne and my wiues very harty commendations to you (who is in a good towardnes to bring into the world a puny to your god-sonne) I commit you to God; and desire to be remembered in your prayers. Bury, this last of November 1613.

Your very loving freend
W. Bedell.

[1] James Montague, Bishop of Bath, late Scholar of Christ's College, Dean of Bristol, and first Master of Sidney Sussex College.

[2] *Triplici nodo triplex cuneus.* Or an apology for the Oath of Allegiance against the two Breves of Pope Paulus V. and the late letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to G. Blackwel the Archpriest. Lond. 1607. In Latin, Lond. 1607.

[3] *Speculum Europae*, printed (surreptitiously) in London 1605. See p. 247.

[4] Lancelot Andrews, translated from Chichester to Ely 1609, to Winchester 1618.

X.

Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; advice to the English deputies at Dort; Dec. 19, 1618.

[Tanner MSS LXXIV. f. 173.]

[The Synod of Dort assembled 13 November, 1618, and continued its sittings till end of April, 1619. Among the English representatives were Ward and Joseph Hall, Bedell's old friend and fellow scholar at Emmanuel, afterwards Bishop of Norwich.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. I doe not much marvell, Good Mr Dr, that I receiue no letters from you, since (as I haue lately heard) his Majesty heares nothing from those parts. An argument that nothing is yet done and the buisines prooues difficulter than was thought it would, after the discovery especially of the mine of the polititians of the one side: unlesse perhaps therebe a generall inhibition of intelligence, till all be concluded. I pray God that or any thing else may be the cause, rather then nothing at all should be effected, and our adversaryes haue this occasion of their joy and our scorne. I will not spend inck and paper to mooue you and your worthy Colleagues to bend all your forces to the furthering of this accord. I know your owne right intentions, and earnest desires, backed and put on by the authoritie and directions of those that send you. I would be bold rather to represent this one thing to you, consider if it be not the best course: contenting yourselues to set downe in the very wordes of Holy Scripture the confessed doctrine, and inhibiting all new fangled formes, for the rest to giue as much scope to opinions as may be[1]. Remember what our predecessors did most wisely in the Article touching the *descent into Hell*[2]. And one thing more: since that there shalbe now assembled with you a great nomber of learned men of all the Reformed Churches, who doe also know the mindes of their fellow Ministers and Magistrates, whether you haue directions hence, supreame or subordinate, yea or no; out of your owne discretion and desire of the peace of Jerusalem, in your private conference feele the mindes of all sorts what inclination they haue to a more universall union. That advertising his Majesty (to whom this should be the greatest glory that euer can come to him in this world to be the effecter of such a worke) you may from him receiue instructions how to proceede to prepare the buisines to further ripenes. I cannot tell whether it be the desire of other Churches as well as ours: in reason it ought to be; and in such a purpose pertayning to the aduancement of Christs kingdome and the peace of his Church, methinckes we ought not to expect that others should be the first

[1] The chief or only work of the Synod of Dort was the condemnation of the 'five points' of the Arminians. The chief of these concerned the variation of the teaching of Arminius from that of Calvin on 'predestination.'

[2] Article III. Bedell seems to mean that the framers of the article contented themselves with using the words of Scripture, Ephes. iv. 9 *εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς*. Vulg. *ad inferiores*. Article *ad inferos descendisse*.

motioners. And if you shall thinck it to appertaine to your duty to doe no more then you are injoyned, and thinck to passe with that forme, *tantum jussus sum*: remember that it is but the praise of a simple messenger to doe his errand, but we send a wise man and say nothing. Consider what ye haue opportunity to doe, what maybe to the honor of him that sends you, what may be to the glory of Christ your supreme Lord; whom I beseech in this and all other your affayres to direct assist and prosper you as mine owne soule. And so with my harty salutations to your other learned Colleagues I rest

Your loving freend and Brother
in Christo Jesu
W. Bedell.

Horningsheath this 19th
of December, 1618.

To my Verie Reuerend and
loving freend Mr Dr Warde
deliver this.

XI.

Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; literary and theological; Feb. 17, [161$\frac{8}{9}$].

[Tanner MSS LXXIV. f. 164.]

Salutem in Christo. Good Mr Dr, I thanck you for your kind gratulations and good wishes and promise of seeing us now and then. Dr Despotini hath sent you 3*li.* by the Carrier; he thancks you for your care and trauell about his bookes; but would entreate by all meanes to haue Ælius, and Alex. Trallian in Latin also, and if there be no meanes to procure that the bookebinder be content to retayne Actuarius in Latin, he would that also be sent. He requires to haue the next weeke by the Carrier those, and the other which I wrote of last, and besides the old latin Poets in 16°, as I think they be to be had in Plantine or Lions print. The rest of the money, if it please you, may remaine in your hands for a stock for his like occasions, or else it may be cut of from my debt. I would desire to understand whether you would that I should send you the bookes I haue for you by the Carrier, or else, as me thought you sayd, your man should take some tyme to come for them: if the former you shall haue them the next weeke.

Touching the title of Sir Walter Myldmaies booke I haue cleane forgotten it; I haue lost also the booke it selfe; but Mr Humphry Mildmay in Essex is not without them. It hath certaine advices or counsailes as I thinck, and certaine Psalmes translated by him or paraphrased rather[1].

[1] Sir Walter Mildmay, founder of Emmanuel, died in 1589. This book must refer to a volume of Latin poems, &c. printed after his death.

As to your objection that if the Churches in Italy and Spaine be true Churches for holding all necessary truth, then the Pope and Court of Rome also. Or the Pope and Court are not *assemblies of Pastors and sheepe* (which is the Genus as it were in the description of the Church) but a certaine confederacy of men seeking themselues and their owne glory, and yet I dare not say that many of the Popish Clergy, being members of the Court, be not also members of the true Church, yea, and saued also. Arrius did not *hold the Apostles' Creed in the true sense* for if he had, he should haue granted the sonne to *be of the same substance* with the Father. Nor yet Nestorius for then he should haue granted the *Sonne of God conceiued of the Virgin.* Touching the Pelagians I dare not say they were true Churches, though in schisms and heresies I doubt not but many are in outward profession joyned with others whose opinion they doe but implicitly embrace. Yet I haue not read of whole Churches infected with that heresy of Pelagianisme. In summe they also ouerthrow salvation by making man *to haue no sicknes, and able to cure himselfe*, which I find not that Papists doe, though some of their opinions looke that way. Touching the place Gal. 5°. I remember I haue shewed you mine opinion heeretofore. I take it to be a speech of that kind whereof Aristotle [1 Poet. Cap. 10] when *we set downe presently that which is more remote;* as 'there be no minstrells in Scythia for there be no vines,'—by this your doctrine and practise at length ye come to exclude your selues out of Christ, and wave the profit you might haue by him. The same would I say to a Papist in the point of merit and satisfaction and invocation of Saints etc. But these thinges must be vnderstood with limitation, if wilfully and obstinately and selfe condemnedly a man persist in such opinions, which I am perswaded a great number vnder the Papacy doe not.

I would faine heare a definition of a visible Church that might exclude a Popish Church, and leaue still Lutheran Churches; yea leave Christ any visible Church on Earth for some ages. If this may be given I could be well content to goe as farre in the casting out the Papisticall assemblyes as another man. In the meane tyme wheresoeuer sauing truth in an outward assembly and profession calles men to God there I account is a visible Church.

For the treatise *de Hierarchia subcaelesti*, I would very gladly you could procure a Copy by Causabons meanes out of France to compare with ours. Some thinges I doubt not but I could correct *ex conjectura*, but there is *Augiæ stabula* behind. I know not whether you haue the Corrections which we once made together or no. But I thinck I haue some observations of abbreviations vsed there according to the order of Alphabet which you shall haue if ye please.

If I conceiue aright I am yet in your debt 8*li.* 5*s.* viz. 6*li.* 7*s.* 8*d.* for Sir Morly, and for Elias 1*li.* 17*s.* 4*d.* after the deduction of 40*s.* receiued by S. Macham and that by Mr Flood. I would expect this weeke what you shall receiue in answer from S. Macham: and I desire you to write me a letter somewhat rowndly and quickly about Sir Morlyes debt, that I may shew it him: possible I may now at his receiuing his halfe yeares stipend

get somewhat. Howsoeuer god willing you shall be payd and speedyly. There is a motion made to me by Mr Nath. Rich[1] about Lincolnes Inne, but the stipend is litle better then this here, and the place being in London I haue no great inclination to it. Yet I pray signifie to me what you thinck of it. So remembring my hartiest commendations to you from my selfe and my other selfe, I rest

Ever yours in Christo Jesu,
W. Bedell.

Bury, Febr. 17.

Good Syr, let me intreate you to remember me to Mr Chaderton[2] and to communicate with him about the matter of Lincolnes inne. And if he will bestow upon me 2 or 3 of his white Mulbery trees, I pray appoint this bearer to fetch them and, cutting of the heads, to bring them hither. I would entreate you also to get me some graftes out of Emmanuel Coll. orchard of the tymely Cherries. I haue none left there now to write to.

To the Worshipfull and my
very good freend Mr Dr
Ward, Master of Sydney Coll.
deliver this.

XII.

Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; proposals for printing Dr Despotine's treatise, "De magnitudine morbi"; Apr. 5, 1622.

[Tanner MSS LXXIII. f. 140.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, with harty thanckes for my good cheere at my last being at Cambridge, these I write to you from Bury from the house of Mr Dr Despotine[3], who recommends him hartyly to you, and in his name I am to intreate a fauour of you, which is that you would be pleased to inquire of your Printer there, which is as I take it one *Cantrell Legge*[4] whether his leysure and employment will serve him, in July or August next to print a booke of his; which is now in copieng out; of this tytle. *De magnitudine morbi disputatio.* In quâ propositâ sanitatis naturâ et naturali perfectione, in quâ primum Deus hominem creaverat, physici ab ea recessus investigantur, et quinam inter hos magni sint...ostenditur. Opus Philosophis quidem jucundum, Theologis utile, Medicis vero apprimè necessarium.

[1] Afterward Sir Nathaniel Rich, a merchant-adventurer, and a connexion (illegitimately) of Rich Earl of Warwick (1585—1636).

[2] The first Master of Emmanuel College was a great planter of trees.

[3] Dr Jasper Despotine, see *Life*, pp. 10—12.

[4] Cantrell Legge, Printer to the University of Cambridge, 1610—1625.

He would not exspect any thing for the Copy but some 40 Copies for him selfe. The bulke of it in written hand will be about some 4 quire or 5. He shall haue it to judge of, touching the saleablenes, when it comes to the Vniversity for approbation. He doubts not but both at Franckford and in Venice it selfe a good nomber of Coppies shalbe dispersed. Yf he haue no leisure or stomack thereto, it needes not demand approbation there. Yf other-wise, the booke wilbe ready about the middle of July. This is all for that buisines—which I doubt not but either for his sake or mine, or both, you will be content to take a little trouble about. I could desire to vnderstand the end of your suite, the rather because my selfe (though I haue now these 6 yeares deferred) must be constrained to enter into that sea of Law, for some glebe land of my Church detayned from it. If your employments would allow you some weeks vacation you shall make me beholding to you if you would vouchsafe to visitt the Parsonage of Horningsheath[1] though it be out of the precincts of your Archdeaconry. The Parson himselfe desires ever to be fownd

Your assured loving freend
W. Bedell.

Bury, this 5th of
Aprill, 1622.

To the Worshipfull my verie
good freend Mr Dr Warde
Master of Sydney Colledge
deliver this
in Cambridge.

XIII.

Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; the publication of Dr Despotine's treatise deferred; interest in behalf of a young man for a scholarship at Sidney college; [Nov. 21, 1622].

[Tanner MSS LXXIII. f. 129.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, Since my last to you about Mr Dr Despotine his booke, he hath resolved to stay a while ere he put it to the presse, beeing aduised so by my selfe, which hath beene the reason that you haue not since heard of him or me thereabout. He rests a debtor to you, and so do I for him (if there can be any debt owing to you from one that is yours already) for your readines in this affaire: which as he requested me in my next to you to professe, so I doe by these presents. But the principall reason of my writing now is this. I neuer meete our old acquaintance Simon Pitts but he thancks me for my letters wherewith I accompanied his wife's sonne when he placed him in your house. This occasions me to enquire how he doth, whether he be yet Scholler of your house or no, etc.

[1] See *Life*, pp. 15, 16.

Wherto his answer is, that he hopes with your favour at the next election he shalbe, and tells me that he is confirmed in this hope by the youths Tutor, so you be not of the minde, whereof it seemes you were at his first sitting, that you would have him yet forbeare to put him selfe vpon the triall. I promised him to write to you. And himselfe desired me so to doe; but not otherwise, then *if he shalbe fownd fitt, and euen in your judgment deserve it:* Which request seemes so reasonable as euen without my letter me thincks he must needs obtayne it. Yet if that may add any furtherance hereto, I would entreate you to let him perceiue that I haue earnestly recommended him to you. The newes of Dr Chadertons resigning, and the election of Mr Preston to the Mastership of Emmanuell Colledge, was alltogether vnexspected in these parts: whereof I doubt not but there were some secret motiues, and perhaps conditions more then the world knowes of[1]. I wish it may be happy to them both: and so much I pray signifie to them both, especially to that good Father, to whom I beseech ye commend me hartily. Many things I haue to communicate with you, about my suite in Chancery; and some fauours which some of my freends beare me in hand my Lord Keeper purposes to me. He is one that [I am] altogether vnacquainted withall, and therefore doe I the lesse [knowe] how to governe my selfe toward him. Yf you doe know him let [me pray you] certifie me what you conceiue. Among other things though that [be] a circumstance of very slight consideration, when you goe to such [presence] [do] you goe with a gowne, and Tippet, or cloke or how? If you [have] particular acquaintance with any that are about him I pray let [me under-] stand by your next. Concluding with my harty commendations to [Mist]ris[2] Warde I commit you to Gods mercifull protection and doe rest

Your assured freend
W. Bedell.

To the Reverend and my very
good freend Mr Dr Warde,
Master of Sydney Colledge,
deliver this in Cambridge,
not payd.
November 25, 1622.

[1] Dr Chaderton resigned, 26 Oct. 1622, and Dr Preston, Fellow of Queens', was elected Master. The 'secret motive,' if there was one, seems to have been the desire to elect Preston (who was chaplain to Prince Charles) and to avoid electing Dr Travers, an ex-fellow. See Ball's *Life of Preston*. By electing Preston the fellows hoped to win back the favour of the Court, which their Puritanism had lost. Mullinger, *University of Cambridge*, p. 569.

[2] The MS. here is torn.

XIV.

Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; proceedings in Parliament and Convocation; Apr. 16, 1624 (*partly printed*).

[Tanner MSS LXXIII. f. 425.]

Salutem in Christo. You may perhaps marvell Good Mr Dr that you haue not heard any thing from me these sundry weekes. The reason of my silence hath beene first my absence from hence, being occasioned by the death of my mother before Easter, and then my coming from Black Notly home to Horningsheath. And since my retourne here hath beene nothing done either in Parliament or our owne house which I could give you any account of, any other wise than by common fame I am sure you heare. Vizt. the examination of my Lord Thresor[1] his actions, which haue beene sifted by the Lower house, who yesterday met with the vpper at Whitehall, and haue rendered him vp as a man convicted of many extortions and corruptions and wrongfull impositions vpon the King's Subjects and euill advice to the King him selfe. In summe it's surely thought he will be deprived of his place and honors if the sentence goe no further. For our house we haue taken aduice of a Bill touching prohibitions, which is passed the lower house, giuing scope to prooue the suggestion before the judges of Assise in the Country. We have drawne a petition to the lords of the Vpper house Committees about the Bill, and presented reasons against it yesterday. We doe not thinck it will passe. There is another Bill in the lower house on foote to enable Ministers to take leases. This was yesterday committed. Mr Selden had the chaire. All agreed to passe it, but Sir Peter Heyman (once my Pupill as you may remember) with some others would haue a restriction that non residents and such as haue many livings might take no benefitt by it. After the ende of the committee sundry tooke him in hand. My selfe at last discovered my selfe to him, and told him I commended his zeale to redresse abuses, but this course was not proper for it. Let them restore the Ministry to the common liberty and right of Citizens, and they should haue the more justifiable reason to take in hand the reformeing of that abuse. It is to be heard againe by the Committees, he tells me that assuredly the house will not passe it without some limitations. You haue here the publick affayres. Touching my booke[2], it slept in my absence save that Dr Goade would needs put a printer vpon me whether I would or no. I purposed Mr Barret, and he and the other are agreed to be partners: this day the first forme is set off. There is in it a touch vpon the changeing of the pointing of the hebrew text in Gen. 3 in the interlinear Bible הִוּא for הוּא which Mr Dr Raynolds mentions in his

[1] Lord Cranfield, created Earl of Middlesex (1623), Lord Treasurer of England, was impeached for malversation by the House of Commons in 1624.

[2] An Examination of Certaine Motives to Recusansie, by W. Bedell. Camb. 1628.

Conference with Hart, out of *Fr. Lucas his Annotations*, to haue beene done by Guido Fabricius. I cannot come by the booke. If you haue it, or can heare of it I pray send me the wordes that concerne it. Mr Rudd our old freend was here; I saw him not till he was euen goeing out of towne. We remembered you. And so desiring to be remembered in your prayers I committ you to God and doe rest

Your assured freend and loving Brother
W. Bedell.

London this 16th of Aprill, 1624.

To the Worshipfull and my verie Reverend and loving freend
Mr Dr Warde, Master of Sydney Colledge in Cambridge.
16 Aprill, 1624.

XV.

Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; Act of Convocation, De libris theologicis examinandis; prohibition of the sale of Dan. Featley's book intituled, "The Romish Fisher caught"; June 1, 1624.

[Tanner MSS LXXIII. f. 443.]

Salutem in Christo. Good Mr Dr, I thanck you for your kinde letter, and according to your appointment have receiued one of Dr Whitakers bookes. I had nothing to write you the last weeke. Now this, that the Parliament is ended, yet not with so vniversall satisfaction as was wished, and by some hoped. I send you here a copie of the Act of our house, touching the Proposition of revising the Fathers etc. The penning of it was committed to Mr Dalby and me. Marvell not that nothing is sayd of any contribution to the charge etc., for we had no such commission. Dr Featly his booke is not yet permitted to be sold. It is reported that some[1] have taken themselves personally touched in a passage thereof, where he mentions the *staying the further proceeding in conference to have beene wrought by some, that tooke on them the office of the Divell who is the accuser of the bretheren.* I am sory that by this meanes Fisher and his Compagnions are ioyed. But possible it will come forth at last. You must against the 3rd of November project this matter of reviseing the Ancients more distinctly, and I hope there will not want maintenance to that. I write these being to post out of Towne to morrow morning early. This day I dined with my Lord of Methe[2], where you were remembered. This day

[1] Episc. Dunelm (Morton).

[2] Bishop of Meath, James Ussher, who was next year raised to the Archbishopric of Armagh. The book referred to was the *Answer to the Challenge made by a Jesuite (W. Malone) in Ireland.* London 1625.

the last sheete of his booke is printing. The Lord have vs all in his keeping. Lymestreete, June 1°, 1624.

Your loving freend,
W. Bedell.

To my Reverend and worthy freend Mr Dr Ward, Master of Sydney Colledge, deliver this in Cambridge. June 1°, 1624.

XVI.

Bedell's letters to Dr Ward; directions for printing some pieces relating to the Venetians; March 19, *and* 28, 1626.

[Tanner MSS LXXII. f. 178.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, with my verie harty commendations remembered, I receiued your kinde letter, vpon Fryday last, and accordingly resolued to haue come to Cambridge, and principally to haue enjoyed the company of my Lord Primate[1] to whom I pray remember my humble service. But being yesterday at Bury I tooke cold, and find my selfe not well, so as I dare not aduenture abroad, having for these 7 or 8 weekes past found a dizzines in my head, and perpetuall tingling in one of myne eares, for which I haue taken a little Physick, and do still vse a kinde of diet tonick. Yet I told Dr Despotine yesterday I would come (who remembers his love to you) and had not this my last distemper hapned, I would have troubled you. Touching the booke I cannot perswade the Printers to any thing, let them doe as they please. I haue resolued to add in the end besides the Rules of the Jesuites, 4 poëmes of a Venetian, called Octavio Menini, whereof 3 are in print already in litle loose papers, the 4th which was vpon occasion of P. Paulo his wounding[2] was not printed, the title is *In Meretricem insignem.* They are all pertinent to the story or story-writer. If they goe on I shall send them tyme enough. If not I desire you to send me the copy by the next Carrier. So with my true love to you and commendations to Mistris Warde, I rest

Your very loving freend
W. Bedell.

Horningerth, this
19th of March, 1626.

These Letters I sent the last Tuesday, but the Carrier was gone before they came. My cold doth yet continue, yet now breaking away, I have sent herein the Epistle which I have contracted and altered in some thinges. I would entreate you, Sir, to peruse it and alter in it what you thinck good or at least advertise me of your opinion. The title of the first front I would haue altered according to that here set downe, for so it is in the Italian. And that other forme *Interdicti Veneti* I doubt will not satisfie the

[1] George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1611–1633.

[2] See p. 225. The book referred to is the Latin Translation of Paolo's *History of the Interdict.* Camb. 1626.

Venetians who pretended a nullity in the Censure: and besides that the determination of the Interdict in true Latine Vse is never, as farre as I find, from the patient but from the agent, as the Prætor, &c. If your Printers take it in hand I doe earnestly intreate you to giue order that it may be carefully corrected. The title of euery page both in the French and Italian is *Liber Primus* &c. which I would imitate in this. Remember me againe to my Lord Primate. And I pray let me be so much beholding to you, as to vnderstand by your meanes his interpretation of the 1 Beast, and the 2d Beast, the false prophet and the Harlot in the Revelation: which I heard of him at London, but haue quite forgotten. Let me heare from you the next retorne of the Carrier. The Lord haue you in his keeping.

Yours

W. Bedell.

March 28, 1626.

To my Reverend and worthy friend Mr Dr Ward Master of Sydney Colledge deliver this in Cambridge.

XVII.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; reasons for thinking the Dialogue of Maximus a forgery; Nov. 8, 1626.

[Tanner MSS LXXII. f. 163.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. I thanck you (Good Mr Dr) for your kinde letters, and invitation to come to you: which I would not vnwillingly take, but at the present many things hinder me, so as I can not stirre from home. I thank you for your aduertisement about Maximus Dialogue. I am sometymes sorry that I haue not the bookes of our Adversaries, as Baronius, or other ancients whom they cite, nor the Councells whole; but only Joverius and Caranza, yet if I were nearer to Cambridge I should haue supply of this want. I have a great suspition that Maximus his Dialogue is a forgery of some library-keeper of Rome. These thinges mooue me. It goeth about to excuse Honorius[1] letters to Sergius[2] by his Secretary as you know—contrary to the judgment of the VI Councell. It saith the Secretary wrote so much to Constantine at Pope Johns bidding; but when Pope John the 4th[3] liued, Heraclius was Emperour. If it be sayd Constantine his sonne reigned with him. True, But so as the other ruled all. Why should the Secretary write to the Sonne and omitt the Father? Why was not this defence used for Honorius in the VI Councill by the Legates of Agatho[4]?

[1] Honorius, Pope 625–640.

[2] Patriarch of Constantinople, who maintained the monothelite doctrine.

[3] John IV., Pope 640–642. Heraclius I. Emperor 610—641, Constantine III. (also called Heraclius II.) 641.

[4] Agatho, Pope 678.

Why did not Pope Leo[1] who translated the Councell out of Greeke vse some respect but cursed Honorius? The wordes recited by Retlar out of the Dialogue do differ from those in Bisciola his Epitome of Baronius. One hath, *qui literis suis quas ad terginna superioribus temporibus scripsit.* The other—*qui apertè antecessori meo* &c. If there were any such thing I would rather thinck it was by the procurement of John 5th[2], who had beene at the VI Councell, and was after Pope. In the narration also of this Councill which Baronius sayth that Anastasius makes, there be many suspitions: for all the Actions of the Synode that concern this matter be lacking, and yet he shewes that Leo translated the Councell and cursed Honorius. Sir, at your leisure reade ouer that Dialogue of Maximus and consider of all circumstances. Observe also whether Photius mention this Dialogue or no. Touching the history of the Interdict, I did guess that to be the reason that I wrote to you, that you did not sell them, especially being finished before the faire. And the last weeke Dr Despotine had a letter from Signor Fra. Biondi that the *Venetian Ambassador will haue the Epistle taken away.* For my part, I care not what they doe with it, and I thinck it will not hurt the sale of their Copies that there is difficulty in the passing of it. I haue receiued 12 copies from Leon. Greene, but vnbound. Desire him I pray that if he send me any more, they may be bound for we haue none that can bind them well here. So remembering my true loue to you and Mistris Warde with my Commendations to Dr Chaderton. I rest,

Your true loving friend
W. Bedell.

Horningerth
Nov. 8, 1626.

Sir, if Mr Buck come abroade yet, I pray remember me hartily to him.

To the Worshipfull and my Reverend good friend Mr Dr Warde Master of Sidney Colledge deliver this
8 Novemb. 1626.

XVIII.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; Archbishop Ussher offers to procure for him the provostship of Dublin College; March 15, $162\frac{6}{7}$.

[Tanner MSS LXXII. f. 176.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

Though I haue not heard yet of your retourne from London (Good Mr Dr) yet conjecturing by the tyme you should be retourned, with the opportunity of one of myne owne parish goeing to Cambridge, I write these lines. I could haue desired the last weeke to haue beene with you, if it had beene but for a few houres, to haue consulted with you touching a proposition as vnlooked for to me as that of my journey to Venice. I receiued 2 letters of like date and contents from London by appointment

[1] Leo VI., Pope 682–8. [2] John V., Pope 686–7.

from my Lord Primate of Armagh[1], demanding to know whether I would accept of the place of Provost of the College there, in case he procured that I were elected thereto: and requiring my present answer. I was and yet am altogether ignorant of the quality of the place. I meane as to the *employment* (for as for the meanes he writes it is 100*li.* per annum and may be bettered by the addition of a weekely lecture in the Citty) where in I thought you could somewhat informe me, if it were but from Mr Alvey his report, of whose death you wrote in your last. I went to Bury to consult with Dr Despotine, and my patrone Sir Tho. Jermyn. It was not Gods will I should finde either of them at home. So the answer I made was this, That I was married, and had 3 children, a good seate in an wholesome aire, with a litle parrish within the compasse of my weake voice; and aboue 100*li.* a yeare living: which made me together with the inclination of my wife, not desirous to change—yet if I should see clearely it was the will of God I should goe, I esteemed I was to close mine eyes *against mine owne conveniencyes*, and follow his call, which I should esteeme by this, if those that had power *to elect there did procure those that might commande me here to send me.* In which case I was resolved to goe, not only into Ireland but Virginia and that alle I *were sure to meete with death* in the performance. For my selfe I was resolved not to stirre a foote or finger to or against this motion, &c. This *answer I doe not yet repent of.* For in truth What to choose I cannot tell: but would doe what is my duty. To goe thither only to looke *to the accounts of a College*, I doe not apprehend how it can be of any great use, more then I may performe here, especially if, as *I hope and lately vnderstand, there* is *hope more then heretofore* of *some doing good at Venice.* This I write as vnderstanding from Sir F. Biondi that many of his friends there entreate him to answer a booke printed at Millaine lately about the warres of Boheme and the Jesuites; wherein possibly I may afford him a litle helpe and so in some other occasions of that sort. Herein let me I pray vnderstand your opinion if you know anything of the quality and employment in Ireland. For the rest I pray (for so I am required) impart not this to any. One thing I will say to you that my Lord Primates worthy disposition doth much encourage me, if I might be of use to his designes of printing the authors of the midle tymes. Concluding I pray you (good Mr Dr) let me heare from you both of this, and if you heare of any new translation of the Councill of Trent whereof you promised to enquire. I receiued from Mr Buck the bookes he sent. L. Greenes man writes they tooke 20 *sh.* money: which if I had knowne they expected, I would not haue had so many. But they shall not loose by me in that kinde though perhaps they gaine nothing by the booke. I rest,

Your loving and euer faythfull friend

W. Bedell.

Horningerth
this 15th of March,
1626.

[1] James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, p. 262.

XIX.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; enquiry of Sig. Biondi for a book written by an Englishman [Tho. Ryves] in defence of the Emperor Justinian; Apr. 16, 1627.

[Tanner MSS LXXII. f. 190.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, with my verie harty commendations and like thanckes for my good cheere at my late being with you. These I now write at the request of Dr Despotine, who hath receiued letters from Sr F. Biondi with a note inclosed from Venice, to enquire for a Booke which a learned man of England should write and print against Nicolas Alemani keeper of the Vatican Library: who first published some few yeares since Procopii *Arcana Historia* with his Latine Translation and Notes, in which with the depression of the name and memory of the Emperour Justinian, the Court of Rome prepares the way to the condemnation of the Lawes made by the sayd Emperour which are read in the Code which clearely besides other thinges shew the falsehood of their pretence of beeing exempted from the judgment of Secular Princes. From which they meane to proceed further to bring in an absolute Monarchy and Despotical Dominion over all Princes &c. These be the wordes of the Note. Now Signor Biondi writes he can not heare of any such in London, and desires our Dr to enquire at Cambridge. Dr Despotine is of the minde that it is the booke of Dr Crakanthorpe in *defence of the Emperour Justinian* which I shewed him. Notwithstanding because he writes against Baronius and not Alemani, nor once that I can finde mentions that History of Procopius, we both intreate you, if you can, to signifie what other Author it should bee. Procopius history of the warres against the Goths by Belisarius and Narses I haue seene and read in Venice. Other History called Arcana I never heard of[1]. I long to heare of the successe of Emmanuell College Statutes[2]; so much the more because I heare by Mr Hunt of second letters sent to the Heades about this matter. The copy of these letters (if you can gett it) I would be glad to see. And I pray send me your opinion about this point, whether a man inlightened and convinced of the truth of Christian doctrine may by that grace receiued, aske, seeke, and pray for the grace of Conversion. Or how you would reconcile these 2: That Fayth is the gift of God, and yet mann shalbe condemned (and justly) for not beleeving in Christ as Joh. 3. 18, 19. I haue not yet the leisure to set downe the points we were speaking about; I hope to doe it ere long. I haue now my handfull of another taske. And so many distractions come upon me, and upon another, that I finde as litle

[1] The *Arcana Historia* of Procopius, with Notes by N. Alemani, was first printed in Greek and Latin at Lyon in 1623.

[2] The attempt to amend the College statutes and especially to get rid of that *de mora sociorum*, which terminated a Fellowship at the standing of D.D.

leisure here as you there. Pardon this my adding to yours. I am and shalbe euer

Your truely loving friend
W. Bedell.

Horningerth Aprill 16, 1627.

Remember me to your wife, and Dr Chaderton.

To my verie Reverend and much respected friend Mr Dr Warde Master of Sydney Colledge deliver this in Cambridge.

I think that præcisely vpon the knowledge of our present misery, and the persuasion, and persuasion of so great a good, as the offer of life and happynes, a man is not enabled to desire it, and Christ the meanes of it, vnless he be trewly touched with a sense of his sins as displeasing to God, with a purpose to leave them.

XX.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; chosen provost of Dublin College; theological questions [1627].

[Tanner MSS cxiv. f. 151.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Though I know this tyme is a busy tyme with you, so as it is almost a sinne (to speake in the Italian phrase) to interrupt you, yet I cannot but signifie to you the state of my buisines, and request your aduice. I receiued the last weeke a letter from Mr Temple one of the fellowes of the Colledge in Ireland, wherein he signifies that they haue procured his Majesties letter for the setling me in that place. And that he would haue sent me a copy thereof, but that Mr Floyd his Colleague had written already to me (as he vnderstood) and sent it. That he purposed to retourne with speede for Ireland. To this purpose also writes Mr Burnet a Merchant in Lombard Streete. This day I was advertised also, that Sir Nathanaell Rich did write to me by Mr Floyd, the same day the King's hand was gotte about 3 weekes agoe, and marvells that he heares not from me about it. Now I never receiued any letter from Mr Floyd, the copy of the King's letter I never saw, nor receiued Sir Nathanaels letter. I did answer to Mr Temple, that I accounted my selfe more beholding to him for his *loue* then his *newes*. That I could not conceive how by my setling there, any such good should be added to that house as he presumed. But would crosse the seas: and for giving him directions, I did rather expect to receiue them from him; especially when, and how he purposed to make his journey: desirous, if my affaires would comport, to accompany him, or else would giue him expresse answer, that he should not stay for me. Now in this I crave your aduice, whether I were better to goe presently or stay till after harvest. That were the safer way for me in respect of gathering in this yeares fruites of my benefice ere I put my selfe in the hazzard of the seas.

On the other side, the College hath beene long a headlesse body, and
likely would thinck long to see him, that ere long they would think c
to soone. Another thing also I cast in minde, my place here is cert
and quiet: Whether it were wisdome to put my selfe presently out of i
take as it were a tyme of probation there, retayning this? I might l
the Archbishops dispensation for 3 yeares, and he offered it me. But
Statutes of the house, as I heare, admitt not any living to be holden
within 3 myles of that place. Vnlesse I should forbeare for a tyme to
the oath and be admitted Provost: which is subject to a great n
inconveniencies, as to haue no authority but precario, with other like
pray advise me, whatsoeuer comes in your minde: and what else any
pertinent to this buisines God shall bring to your rememberance you
herein much oblige me to you. For my part I haue no greater comfor
this affaire, then this, that I haue not sought it directly or indirectly:
shall hold my selfe better pleased to be quiet still at home, if any
happen in the way.

To your last letters. An humbled sinner is not yet a true con
though *in proxima dispositione*: as Mr Perkins well teaches. And
title *Pater noster*, may well be used of him that considers himselfe as
Creature, or as entered into the Covenant of grace Sacramentally, thou
man haue not the Spirit of adoption. But let vs leave the forme of
Lords Prayer; the question is whether he can say, '*Convert me o Lord*
'*Giue me to beleeue*'; Consider the forme of St Augustines conversio
his Confessions; and whether to one in the like agony you would not ad
(and well might) to pray as he did, *Cur non modo* etc[1].

Touching the 2d point, I conceiue not your answer, or else you mis
me: for doe not thinck but I will admitt, that both *posse credere* is of g
and *ipsum credere* also; and both free gifts of Gods, yet the
conditioned with *aske*, *seeke*, *knock*, which many that haue the fo
fayling in are worthily deprived of. Your similitude of one offering
beggers each a peny, which one acceptes, the other refuses; is not like
matter. But rather that of one shewing money to 2 beggers with Ch
word, *Aske and ye shall haue*, where both are ingaged for the promise,
more he that hath the proffer and performance. I thanck you much fo
booke you were pleased to send me, which I haue read over this we
with your sermon *ad Clerum* enlarged. I had noted before 3 p
whereof I doubted: and thought in one of those 2 there was some fau
the print: It is in your latter edition page 22 voluntatis *irresistibilita*
I thought it should be *resistibilitatem*, or *oppugnandi*. The other is
23 *nos dicimus*. I thought it would be *non dicimus*. In the same l
formulis causa. I thinck you meane, *proxima* and *immediata effic*
But perhaps some Schoolemen speake so, which yet I doe not remem
See how much trouble I put you to beare with me, and remember m

[1] The passage to which Bedell appears to refer begins with *quare* (not
Confess. VIII. 12 iactabam voces miserabiles: 'Quam diu? quam diu?
et cras? *Quare non modo? quare non hac hora finis turpitudinis meae?*'

Mistris Ward. If I goe shortly into Ireland I will see you at Cambridge; if not, yet I will intreate you with her to see vs here, so I rest,

Your ever loving freend,
W. Bedell.

XXI.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; the provostship of Dublin College; theological question; May 8, 1627.

[Tanner MSS LXXII. f. 194.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. I thank you for your letters, and the Copy of your latter reference from the King. I shall marvell if those that be so zealous about the altering the statute of Em. Coll. do not likewise labour to overthrow the like of Q. Eliz. foundation in the College in Ireland, by which the fellows there may not stay aboue 7 yeares after their beeing Masters of Arts. For that I perceiued this last weeke at London whether I was sent for by Sir Na. Rich by order from my Lord of Canterbury the Chancelor of that University, who when I came to him used a very pithy and weighty speech to me to induce me to accept that charge. I excused me by my deafenes and other insufficiencies, but it auailed not. The fellowes haue put up a Petition to the King desiring I may haue the place conferred upon me. The successe of their suite I did not thinck it fitt to attend. But if they obtane it, I thinck to goe (with the helpe of God) at least to take some triall of the place. Touching my letter, your instance of the conviction of the Devills of the truth of Christian doctrine, who yet cannot pray, is not to the purpose. For there is no grace of *Illumination or conviction granted* to them to enable them to any supernaturall act. Nor doth Christian doctrine concerne them but mankind to whom Christ is giuen. It seemeth that precisely upon the knowledge of our present misery &c., with all the persuasion of so great a good as the offer of life and happines made by God in Christ to the world, a man should be abled to desire it and Christ the meanes of it, and to pray, Convert me o Lord and I shalbe converted &c. I do freely grant that the belieuer hath euer a greater grace then he that is not converted. For he hathe the gift of Faith it selfe, but whether a greater before faith I doubt. And I would desire to vnderstand in particular what it is, and how, that being denied, the mouth of such as beleaue not shalbe stopped, and their condemnation just. When your leisure shalbe greater, I could desire to receiue the further declaration of this point. Meane while with my true affection to you and hearty commendations to Mistris Warde I rest

Your truely loving freend,
W. Bedell.

Horningerth this
8th of May 1627.

At my being at London Sir Na. Rich told me of a letter that goes about

in the name of your College to the Duke[1]; a very flattering and absurd thing as wise men esteeme it: I laboured to get a Coppy of it supposing you are abused in it, but I could not meete with it. You may do well to search it out.

To the Worshipfull and my Reverend good freend Mr Dr Ward Master of Sidney Colledge deliver this in Cambridge. May 1627.

XXII.

W. Bedell to Sir Nathanael Rich[2].

(From the original in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Manchester at Kimbolton Castle.)

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

Sir, I am retourned from Dublin vpon Michaelmas day, whether I set forth vpon St James day. My iourney I thanck God was prosperous, as farre as hitherto I can judge of it, if the vndertaking a place of that charge and burthen aboue my strength do not oppresse and crush me. At my comming I presented my selfe to my Lord Deputy, by whom I was graciously vsed. The next day came to me Mr Usher, who was elected by the junior fellowes, wishing me to be advised ere I entered a place whereto he had right; He doubted not but when His Majesty should be informed, he would administer indifferent justice to all his subjects etc. I could not get of him the grownds of his pretension nor persuade him to go with me to Drogheda to my Lord Primates, whether I went the next day and communicated with him of all things. He to the point of Mr Usher sayd he was sorry he would not be advised by his friends: wished me to proceede etc. I retourned and having perused the Statutes, went to the College, and took the oath, yet with Protestation that I entended not to binde my selfe to every clause and phrase in the Statutes, but to the Substance: and where the Provost might not hold any Benefice, except it were within three miles of Dublin, I did not intend presently to give over my Benefice, in as much as the place was litigious[3], and my family and affayres in England vnsetled, but would do it when with conveniency I might. Thence forward having taken upon me the place I endeavoured to sow up the rent betweene the fellowes; and to that end appointed a Communion the next Sunday (a thing intermitted these 11 yeares). Then ordered the members of our governing Senate, I meane the Seniors; removeing (as by our

[1] The Duke of Buckingham.

[2] See *ante* p. 258.

[3] Because there had been a dispute whether the Senior or Junior Fellows had the right of election. At the death of Sir Wm Temple, Jan. 15, 1626, the Seniors had chosen one the Juniors another. The king then nominated Bedell.

charter we were bound) such as by tyme after their Degree of Master of Arts were to be removed. Next we chose officers, gave graces in the house for Degrees, reformed some abuses in the Chappell and Hall: as the Evening Prayers were in the Hall, and Philosophicall Acts in the Chappell. But my next care was about the Statutes, which being part latin, part English, and in sheetes of Paper some stich'd together, some loose, a heape without order, with long preambles, and sometyme vnnecessary, and in many thinges defective: with the consent of the greater part of the Seniors, I so digested into a new forme, *and* at last perfected as I hope and published in the Chappell. The state of the College in respect of the Revenue and Treasure should have been the thing I would next have entered into consideration of. But it required a long tyme. And this in short I fownd, there was not money enough in the chest to pay the Commons and the stipends when the day should come. I consigned all the Bookes of former accounts into the handes of the Vice-Provost (Mr Lloyd) and the Auditor (Sir James Ware) desiring him to set me downe the Estate of the College especially in respect of Areares. Which hitherto he sayd he could never doe, in as much as he had not so much as a Rentall of the Colledge revenue, but had made vp every yeares account, only out of what was taken out of the chest and disbursed. Wherein notwithstanding sundry Bursars had left in their hands large summes of the College money, never satisfied. And to mend the matter a custome was brought in of giveing to the Senior Fellowes at ther departing a *Viaticum* as they call it. Which also was demanded by those Fellows who now left their places. But to these Viaticums I have I hope given a Viaticum. And when ever I shall retorne to the house, I hope to looke a litle better to the Accounts: and if it be possible to recover some of those hundreds, which I doe already by a superficiall view perceive are unjustly withhelde from the Colledge, partly received and never accounted; partly lent (as is pretended) but without assent of the greater part of the Seniors; partly lent indeede, but never repayed; and as it is now hoped to be granted for a Viaticum to the former Provost. Sir, you may by this which I have in short run over, conceive what a world of busines I am put into: yet I repent me not of my journey, though I have not had there one houre voyd of paines, trouble, or thought, nor do looke to have when I shall retourne, for many moneths. But if I shalbe able to settle the College in a good state, for their manners, lawes, revenew, and studies, whereof in respect of many difficulties in each I have great reason to doubt, yet the state of the Country considered, now wholely assubjected to Romish superstition, and as it seemes, in respect of religion euen abandoned by those that should have the care and charge of it, I have litle hope euer to have comfortable day there. Unlesse with the Apostle I could rejoice in labours, and troubles, and euen to be offered up on the sacrifice and service of the faith of God's people; which I do some tymes wish, and have some comfort I confesse euen in that very wishing. But I should enter into a Sea to goe about to relate vnto you the present state of religion in Ireland. Your selfe I beleeve would scarce beleeve it possible that in

a few yeares since your being there it should receive such a headlong downefall. I shall reserve that to our meeting, which shalbe I hope ere long, when I shall receive the Colledge, and my Lord Primates letters, or advice that they are in London for me. At which tyme also I hope to make my excuse and satisfaction for my not seeing my Lord of Canterbury at my parting, being in truth required by my Lord Primate to repaire to Dublin *with all possible speede.* I hope you have in part made my excuse, and in any occasion will further doe it. Meane while desiring you to remember my humble service to the Earle of Warwick, my ever honoured Lord I committ you to the protection of our good God, and rest Sir

Yours ever in Christ
to be commanded
W: Bedell

Horningsth October the 9th
1627

[Indorsed]
To the Worshipfull and my Very
good friend Sir Nathaneel
Riche at Warwick
house deliver these
in London.

XXIII.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; queries about the University of Cambridge; affairs of Dublin College; Jan. 17, 162$\frac{7}{8}$.

[Tanner MSS LXXII. f. 235.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, I am ashamed that I haue kept your booke of the University Statutes so long: but I had a desire to draw out of it a project for our University, which lacks statutes as yet. And some rude lines I haue drawne. But alas, we lack the facultyes of Physick and lawe wholely: and that of Divinity is never like to yeild us any Doctors resident in our University, or aboue one or 2; sith when they come to be 7 yeares standing Masters of Arts, they must leave their fellowships: I could desire to know whether your University haue any licence of

Mortmaine to purchase Landes: and to what value, and by what name you are incorporated, and whether the Vice Chancellor Proctors and Bedells haue any stipends out of the same, or else their stipends be meerely out of the Contributions for degrees. To what vse your matriculation money is put: and how the Schooles were first founded, and are yet repaired, if you haue vnderstood what summes of money Professors of Law, or Physick do pay to the University for their chairs, and whether the Professors of Divinity do the like or not. Whether the Physitians and lawiers do make any Profession at their taking Degrees of Dr as Divines do. And the copy of the Profession of Divinity if you can conveniently come by it. A hundred more thinges I haue to demand which now come not to my minde. As about your sheets (which I thinck were *montes pietatis* at first) whether there be any use of them now or not. What officers the University hath for their possessions, as Stewards, Auditors Surveyors or the like. For my journey, it is not like to be till the Spring. I haue not yet receiued my Lord Primates resolution of my case viz. whether I may, notwithstanding my oath to hold no benefice but within 3 myles of Dublin, retayne the right of my living here, without receiuing any profitt thereby. For my selfe I do most incline to thinck, that I may not, since so long as I haue the title of it, and may execute the duty when I will, I *hold the* benefice. From the fellowes there, I understand of a new difference since my coming away, upon an opinion that we had made a statute that none should be chosen fellow under a Bachelor of Arts of 7 Termes standing at least, purposely to exclude the natives, and specially a Cousin of my Lord Primates of his name, this next Election. The truth is I assented to that Statute out of a perswasion of the good of the College for all future tymes, and no other regard. And that cousin of my Lord, as it is assured me, is altogether vnfitt for the place. I see it wilbe a very hard thing to please all sides. The fellowes complaine that my Lord Primate is too open eared to suggestions, an euill many tymes following good natures. How so euer I can yet stay where I am: but I shall perceiue more when I receiue his owne letters. They haue bestowed a grace of Dr upon me in the house, as I heare, though not from them, but my Lord Deputy his Secretary. And my Lord Deputy conferred upon me the place of the Threasurership of St Patricks in Dublin, which was holden in Commendam by the Archb. of Tuam (being of the Collation of the Archb. of Dubline), advising me to get the Royal letters for it, &c. and as I heare passed it for me under seale. I wrote to his Lordship with thancks but refusing to medle in it, or hold any opposition with the Archbishop; since I understand that the Archb. of Tuam is not dead, and I for my part had rather content my selfe with the meere wages of my place then goe to law for the best place in that Church, though I were sure to evict it. I haue made this honorable offer of his an occasion to petition for the wages of 40*li.* per annum, anciently granted to the Provost for maintaning a lecture before the Lord Deputy and Counsell, which for the 7 yeares past hath beene withholden from the College, although the senior fellowes do yet uphold that lecture. I shall also see what that course will worke. I could haue

desired that company here to haue imparted all things at large, but the weather is to unseasonable: and my selfe am shortly to goe into Essex upon occasion of the death of one of my Brother in Lawes who departed this life the last weeke. I doe entreate you to conceale that which I write touching the Lord Primate and the Lord Deputy: and if you can at leysure certifie me of the particulars of my demands touching your University you shall doe me a pleasure. I hope to see you here about Candlemas tyme. And so with thancks for the Note of your bokehouse and all other your kindnesses, I rest

Your euer bownden and
faythfull freend
W. Bedell.

Horningerth this 17th
of January 1627.

I receiued upon Monday a kind letter from Mr Mede of Christs College with one of his bookes which I haue read or rather ranne over. I haue not now the leysure by reason of this bearers hast to write to him. I desire you at your next occasion to thanck him in my name.

To my Reverend and very
worthy freend Mr Dr
Ward Master of Sidney
Colledge deliver
this

XXIV.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; theological points on grace and justifying faith; Jan. 29, 162⅞.

[Tanner MSS LXXII. f. 239.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, I thanck you for your kinde letters. And touching Pre Paulo his opinion, as I remember it, was this. Where in discourse with him and Fulgentio we talked of the order in conversion, which, as I conceiued, was by *excitation* and *Illumination* and *Conviction* of the truth of the doctrine, before the giving of Justifieing Faith, so as it was not done in an instant but by certaine Degrees. He said: Grace was given in an instant, and might sometymes begin, but not at the understanding, but in some affection as *Feare, Hope* ec. and so affect the whole man: which also he seemed to make effectuall *Grace it selfe*, and not any *præparative* thereunto. And for the acts præparatory whereof you write, I thinck you haue most truly set downe this whole matter, in your Suffrage at Dort touching the 3 and 4th Articles in the title *De Antecedaneis ad Conversionem*. And the resemblance which you use is very proper. Nam sicut in generatione hominis naturali multae sunt perviae dispositiones &c. the very image which our Saviour borrowed John 3—Where you demand, *whether the subject may be sayd to be*

dead in sinne in the Apostles phrase Eph. 2 and Col. 2: it seemes not. For he speakes of the state of those before their calling or any beginning of grace in them, while they walked in sinnes and were in like subjection to the Devil, with those in whom he did yet effectually worke. This is not so in those who haue illumination, and Compunction, desire of freedome, and hope of pardon. For looke, how much there is of the one contrary induced, so much is abated of the other. It is true that the forme is induced in an instant, which is *ipsum credere in adultis* whereby the Subject is completely translated from death to life. But when the soule hath receiued the immortall seede of Gods worde, which St Peter speakes of, Ep. 1. 23. he is not all utterly in the same case as before, much lesse when it hath taken *some roote*, though in shallow grownd, as in those that beleeue for a tyme, after falling away. And let it be marked, that it is the *high way* that answers to the estate of those that are wholely dead in sinnes: the other grownds haue at the least the lively seede in them, though in some through their owne fault it come not to fruite, as you say Thes. 5, Where you aske, *Whether such acts proceede from the motion of the Spirit, or initiall habits and dispositions.* It seemes, at the first from the impulse and motions of the Holy Spirit: viz. when the habits or dispositions are working and inducing. After these are vitall actes, as motion in Embryone. Unlesse a man will hold that there must necessarily be a new impulse to euery severall act even out of habit complete, which for my part I thinck is not so, albe grace and *new grace* in som sense there must be, even after conversion. But when we say Vitall actes, I take your meaning Philosophically not Theologically, unlesse you meane incompletely, and as tending to life, i.e. to Faith, by which the just lives. For it implies contradiction that before a man lives he should performe a Vitall act. Alwaies it must be remembered we doe not performe any one of these actes *per naturae vigorem*, as the Councell of Orange speakes: all our sufficiency is from God giving these habits, add also ministring occasions, remooving impediments, yea, if you will, giving impulses such as shall not irresistibly moove. For if they doe, neither is that possible which you say (1 Thes. 5, 19), Suffocari ac penitus extingui possunt hi effectus præcedanei, et in multis solent. And if they were not resisted, the reason of Gods forsaking 1 Thes. 4. 7, 8, and consequently the justice of condemning men for not beleeving could not be cleared. And this agrees with that which you teach out of St Paul Phil. 2. 12, though I thinck it is not the proper meaning of that place. God hath begun in you a good worke of his grace, and brought it thus farre as that you haue a will to believe and convert: with feare and care do you endeavour to finish (as κατεργάζεσθε doth rather signifie than as Chrysost expounds it) that whereupon your salvation depends. For as God hath begun, so it is he which will giue you inward and effectuall force, if you be not wanting to his grace, i.e. if you instantly use meanes, and ask, seeke, knock. How be it as I sayd I thinck he speakes to men converted and delivered as you say, p. 5 *a*, and therefore exhorts rather to care and constancy in new obedience, than to care in the beginning of conversion for the accomplishing thereof. Their safety or health was already wrought,

Veluti cum medicina morbum superavit: hoc tantum deerat ad perfectam sanitatem, ut æger jam convalescens in victus ratione recte instituenda et alterantium medicamentorum usu officium faceret—This for your demands. Perusing your letters which I receiued last from you before my goeing into Ireland, I finde these wordes you set downe what you conceiue to be my meaning in that which passed before betweene us. [Your opinion is this, that God giving a man *posse credere* giveth him also *posse invocare et orare*, as a meanes to worke actuall fayth, *ipsum credere.*] and you add, *I will admitt all you say.* But whether it be my infelicity in lack of expressing my selfe, or any thing fell from my pen besides my meaning I know not; this is not my opinion. For first I acknowledge no working of actuall fayth by us, but obtaining only. God is the worker, which by a new free and unresistible (or at least unresisted) grace, giues *ipsum credere.* By a new impulse induces this forme which after remaines per modum habitus in the subject, where it was not in it before, but in potentia. And for *posse credere*, I do not thinck that a Reprobate *ever hath it*, any other wise then in that he hath posse invocare. So this, is not given together with that, but that is given in the giving of this. *The thing you only contend* (as you say) is that, *if* 2 *haue* posse orare, *he that hath both* posse orare, *and doth actu orare* also, *hath infallibly a greater grace antecedenter ad actum credendi, for the act commeth from a greater grace then the bare* posse credere—I thinck you would haue sayd *posse orare.* Otherwise you speake not to my meaning. And if so, that as it seemes can be no other but an impulse or motion ad orandum, which if it be irresistible in the one, and either not at all, or resistible in the other, you may soone see this mans mouth cannot be stopped, and he made inexcusable why he beleeved not. As easily it may be on the other side, if there were no impulse at all but only a power; or the impulse were resistible in both, but not resisted but only in the reprobate. To conclude he that doth *actu orare* hath infallibly greater grace viz. exorare, credere, salvari. See Act 9. 11. But this is consequenter. If he haue greater also antecedenter, I desire to know what it is in particular. I crave no pardon of this prolixity, but desire to be punished lege talionis.

I pray certifie me if there be any recordes or abstract of your Privileges of the University which a man might obtaine the sight of. For the originalls I suppose are not easily to be veiwed. So with my commendations to your selfe and Mris Warde I committ you to the Lords protection, and rest

Your ever loving freend
W. Bedell.

Horningerth, this 29th
of January, 1627.

To the Worshipfull and my
Reverend good freend
Mr Dr Warde Master
of Sydney Colledge
in Cambridge.
deliver this.

XXV.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; scruples about retaining the rectory of Horningsheath; the question of faith and justifying faith; Feb. 8, 162$\frac{7}{8}$.

[Tanner MS LXXII. f. 243.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, I thanck you for your kinde lettres although I haue a kinde quarrell to you, for styling me Provost of Queenes College neare Dublin. It was indeede of Q. Eliz' foundation but it is *Trinity College.* Where you add also, *Parson of Horningerth,* thereabout I haue a question to you, which I had sooner propownded, but that till of late I made litle question of it, and euer thought questions of this nature are as litle to be propounded to friends, as to a mans selfe, in his owne case. I haue taken an oath to keepe the Statutes of our College pro virili meâ in omnibus. Amongst them one is in the Chapter "de qualitate Præpositi—*Nec habeat quicunque electus fuerit quamdiu locum et munus Præpositi supplet Ecclesiastica ut vocant beneficia uno plura, idque non alibi quam intra tria milliaria a Collegio ad parochialem Ecclesiam Ecclesiastici beneficij.* Now because when I tooke the oath I had my benefice, I did before my taking it make a Protestation, that the place being litigious, and my family not transported, nor my affaires setled in England, I purposed not to renownce my Benefice till my affaires were accommodated there. And truly I had then no other meaning but, so soone as I could retourne and dispach my buisines here, absolutely to resigne my benefice. Now my question is, whether saving my oath I might not by dispensation from my Lord of Canterbury hold the title to that, allowing the whole profitts to him that discharges the cure, to be nominated by the Patrone and approued by the Bp of the Dioces. It seemes on the one side very expedient even for the College it selfe, that if I be unserviceable for it (as I much feare) by the Palsey or such like weakenes, I might retourne where I was, and my selfe haue *aliquod senectuti præsidium.* And sith I haue no distraction hereby from the College governement, nor shall gaine one peny by it, and never sought this emploiment, I might retaine the power to retourne. On the other side, I haue it in the eie of Law, and he that discharges the duty is but my Curate, and oathes are of strictest interpretation, and it may occasion offence, and I sware to accept no dispensation against myne oath or the Statutes. And should I not trust God without a pawne, having fownd his good providence so mercifully hitherto? I wrote to my Lord Primate from the Seaside hereabout, but haue not receiued his answer as yet. And because by our Charter we haue liberty to make Statutes and ordinances from tyme to tyme for the government of the College, so as we are *conditores juris,* it came to my minde even as I was sat writing into Ireland to propound it to the fellowes. Yet I shall ever remember that they are rather like to be desirous to gratifie me, and that it is my selfe

that so shall decide the matter which in mine owne case I shall not (doubtingly) doe. I haue shewed you the Case. Now let me intreate your answer to it, abstracting it from my person and imagining it were AB not WB that is the party. Now to your last letters.

I was and am of your minde touching Padre Paolo his opinion. Which I thinck proceeded from hence, that he conceived Grace to be a distinct quality from the habites or particular dispositions, proceeding from the Spirit of God, such as are Knowledge, Faith, Charity ec. And yet let vs consider, if in Children it must not be so: unlesse their grace stand in a meere relation betweene them and Christ. To be inlightned, pricked, convicted, hope of pardon, at the first impulse are Gods acts, and not ours, nor be vitall acts philosophically. After the receiving the habits of light, greefe for sinne, dogmaticall faith, and generall consolation that God is ready to be reconciled, the acts that are performed out of these are vitall philosophicè. But I dare not yet say Theologicè otherwise then tending to life i.e. to Fayth. Yet let vs consider of the termes of some distinction, as: They are—a Spiritu Sancto ut principio vitali interno, but, nondum inhabitante; or a semine vitali recepto, sed nondum concepto. And in truth, the worde is that which hath the efficacy in it and is able to save; *if it abide in the hearers, they shall abide* 1 Joh. 2. 24. And following our Allegory, there is no Abortus in spirituali embryone nisi ex defectu matricis. For *new impulses to every severall act after the receiving of a habit complete*, I am not yet perswaded. And for sensible proofe that it is otherwise, when God will try any man, as Abraham, Job, Hezekiah, ec. he doth not only not giue him any new impulse, but suffers the flesh, the Devil, or the world, to giue him an impulse to the contrary; and which is stranger, some tymes himselfe seemes to giue him an impulse to the Contrary, as in Abrahams, and in Pauls case Act 21. 11—12: by the prediction of Agabus and perswasion of the bretheren Paul is mooued not to goe to Hierusalem. In these cases what thanck were it, or what triall of grace, if God did vnder hand giue new impulses to euery exercise of his gifts? What occasion to giue such testimony of their loue and fayth as to Abraham, Gen. 22. 16. Consider also Deut. 8. 2 and Cap. 13. 3 and 2 Chro. 32. 31. I doubt not but often new impulses are given, to avoide sinne, or put on the faithfull to a higher degree of any gratious habite: and that it is our duty to pray for these, and if it be the will of God that we may not be tempted, or at least heare that voice *Here is the way*, when we are ready to turne to the right hand or left [Is. 30, 21]. But that alwaies this is requisite, or else we *can do* nothing, me thincks inferres vnavoidably that of the Monck of Adrumetum which gave occasion to St Aug' to write *de Correptione* and *Gratia, Blame me not but pray for me, for, without God would haue given me the impulse, I could doe nothing.*

Touching the Synodes that you write of, that mentioned in St Aug. Ep. 106 and the Africane, I find that they define *Gratiam et adjutorium dari ad singulos actus.* And I grant *auxilium speciale* to be given. But *novum impulsum*, or *novum motum*, or any such thing I finde not. Auxilium speciale is the same in spiritualibus, but commune is in natalibus.

But that is not alwayes a *new* motion; it sufficeth to sustaine the creature with the activity of it, and subminister objects, without putting it on to every new action: and so in the new creature when it is perfectly formed at least.

Touching, *posse orare* and *actu orare*, I urge still if actu orare *cannot* be without a new impulse which Judas never hath, how is he not excusable? and how can you say *he was awanting to him selfe and to Gods grace?* Who had not that impulse without which he could not so much as pray for fayth and conversion? But admitt Peter and he do both receiue *posse orare*, and may both *actu orare* without any other impulse; now is he without excuse who hath discriminated him selfe by his owne negligence, yet hath the other no cause of boasting. As if two being fallen into a ditch, it is a poore pride that one might haue that he cried for helpe to a passenger, and being bidden reach't him his hand, where the other brutishly was content rather to lie there still and perish. If you say they both haue the impulse *but resistibly* (as you do seeme to make all such impulses before grace inhabiting resistible) then albe you do no lesse make the difference to come from the parties themselves, than if you had giuen only a power to each without any impulse at all, thus also, considering this difference *in deterius* is not for lack of grace, but for being lacking to grace, you haue stopped his mouth that askes not. And the other (sith what he doth is not vigore naturae) hath nothing whereof to glory, but in the Lord. Heere in I will not oppose. Consider if this be not the Spirit of supplications Zach. 12. 13—Sed manum de tabula.

It may be with the occasion of this Parliament my Lord Primate may come over, who hath (as he told me) the Copy of your Statutes, and I beleeve hath taken some paines already to view your privileges of that University which will ease me of that labor. I do earnestly desire, sith God hath called me thither, to helpe to bring the University to as complete a forme as I can. I thinck I shall see you in my passage: now I rest—

Yours for ever

W. Bedell.

Horningerth Febr. 8. 1627.

To the Worshipfull and my very Reverend good freend Mr Dr Warde Master of Sydney Colledge deliver this in Cambridge

1627.

XXVI.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; St Paul's doctrine of Virginity; the question of grace and faith; March 24, 162$\frac{7}{8}$.

[Tanner MS LXXII. f. 262.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. I thanck you good Mr Dr for both your kinde letters of the 5th, and 9th of this Moneth, and for the paines you

haue put your selfe and some others to for my satisfaction, in my Demands about your University. I retourne you your paper of the payments to be made for Degrees with many thancks.

For your opinion of my Case, I must still remember the bond of friendship betweene us, and therefore hold your judgment as suspect as mine owne. I desire of God (and so I pray do you pray for me) that I do no ill. I shall attend my Lord Primats and the Fellowes answer, ere I resolve. For the Answer of the *Motiues to Recusancy*[1], in truth there is nothing in it worth the printing, saue that it is not unfitt to discouer their impudency and maintaine our point still against them euen by such skirmishes as these, and by the way to state our Controversies rightly. But if there be nothing yet done, there is no hurt done. I pray send it me by the next carrier. For as touching that doubt, whether Virginity make the party more acceptable to God, I can change nothing. It seemes we may well allow it doth, if it be both in body and spirit, and holden to this end to attend and care the more for the things of God without distraction. This state, the Apostle seemes to say, is better 1 Cor. 7. 38—40 : and so that of widdowes than wives. Where I do not see the reason why our last translation changed *more blessed* into *happier*; unlesse they thought this life *only* the better for avoiding worldly encomberances; which I feare is not the Apostle's meaning. You know the opinion of Antiquity better then I.

For *new impulses in habits complete to euery severall act*, the strength of my Argument from cases of triall is this. 1. God cannot be sayd to try what is in mans hart (whether it be to let our selves or the world know our weakenes) if he still puts it on secretly against those things whereby he would trie it. As he cannot be sayd to try the weight of a peece of gold, that lifts up the scale wherein it lies, as oft as he puts in the other the weight which should examine it. 2. God shall seeme plainely contrary to himselfe, if he secretly mooue one way, and openly another. 3. And me thincks when you say *God would let men see their owne weakenes without him*, your selfe do acknowledge, that God doth leaue them destitute of his assistance. I demand what assistance that is? It is not *commune auxilium*, no nor yet *speciale*, as it conserves gracious habites already giuen, for then they would faile presently. It remaines good, that it be meant of new impulses. And by like reason when God would let them or others see their strength through his grace, he doth stand by them, and with them, as with Job, Abraham, Paul, ec. but not encrease his grace by new impulses in this case, though often he do so at other tymes. Gratiam therefore et adjutorium dari ad singulos actus, as I take it is not meant of *giving* habituall grace alone, but of *conserving* and assisting it, and *subministring* objects at least, if not giving new impulses. Albeit let us consider well if the giving of objects be not giving impulses, as we say externa sensibilia feriunt sensum, et movent phantasiam, intellectum, et voluntatem. Which, if it be so, we may perhaps come to a nearer point of accorde in this matter. For there ipsam immittere cogitationem

[1] Bedell's Book. See p. 261.

boni shalbe an impulse. To retourne to our present purpose, I hold it no absurdity to say that facultas ambulandi datur ad singulas *ambulationes*, or *audiendi ad singulas auditiones*. Although the terme facultas may seeme by use to be restrained precisely to signifie the habit out of exercise. But *vim et adjutorium ad singulos motus dari* may be very well granted of him that denies the concourse of God is *prævius* and *præmovens* by way of new impulse to every wagging of the finger. Which he that will affirme I beleeue will sweate when he comes to cleare how God is not the Author of euill; for example in Cains killing of Abell, and the like. For my part, I thinck it sufficeth to the auerring that Deus is *prima causa simpliciter omnium motuum naturalium*, that he puts into naturall thinges formes and habits, and concurres to them *assistenter*. And the like may be sayd of his giuing gracious habites, and speciall concourse to them: though he doth often besides giue new impulses and ordinaryly objects ec. To your Arguments. (1) God *beginneth every good* worke. No doubt: But the text Phil. 1. 6 speakes properly of the whole worke of our salvation; the beginning whereof is the fellowship in the Gospell x. 5. (2) *He giues the will and the deede.* Who denies it? For our ἱκανότης is of God euen to thinck or discourse any thing, 2 Cor. 3, 5. So as we must say with St Paul, *not I but the grace of God with me.* With us, to inable us: with us to assist our ability, with us to keepe us as with a garrison by his power, and not our owne, 1 Pet. 1. 5: with us to further and giue successe to euery good endeavour. (3) *Ab ipso initium bonæ voluntatis*—by giving gratious habits: *ab ipso* facultas boni operis—by concurring to the worke with us: ab ipso perseverantia bonæ conversationis, by keeping his grace in us that we grow not weary of well doing. But if the Master must not only teach the trade, and giue that stock, but euery moment put on to the exercise, or else nothing wilbe done, why is the slouthfull servant blamed? (4) *The good use of habituall grace is a speciall grace, and greater in moralls then habituall grace.* The Apotelesme is grace. The ability and assistance is grace. The very exercise is grace, by that forme of speech wherby the operation of naturall things is called *Nature*; as of the fire to burne, of a man to reason. (5) *But if this be not from a new impulse, we shall giue the lesse principall to God and the more principall to our owne will.* Nay verily, *Totum Deo*, as to the goodnes of the Apotelesme. Even to *do* itselfe is Gods, *as our* selves that doe (Psal. 100. 3). But surely neither *in naturalibus* nor *moralibus* is the exercise more excellent then the habit, as farre as I can conceiue. The forme is better than the operation. True it is that the operation added to the forme is better then the forme alone. And so is a childe higher then a Giant when he is upon the Giants shoulders. (6) Thus *the will* (you say) shall *determine itselfe to any good worke.* So shall it (I thinck) by your owne doctrine, since these impulses you make resistible. Yea more, it shall determine Gods impulses which doe more exceede the power thereof, then its owne abillityes. (7) *It shalbe primum principium et primum se movens simpliciter et primum liberum.* It shalbe indeede proximum principium operis, et se constituens in actu exercito: as for *primum liberum*, I conceiue not how it

should be so. Vere liberum it shalbe, tanquam a filio liberatum. For (which is the proper Antithesis to Pelagius and his followers) it doth this or that good worke not by the strength of Nature, but by a new habit of Grace, by the power of the Spirit of Christ inhabiting in us.

For *posse orare* and *actu orare*. Where I underlined certaine wordes of *Florus* the Monck of Adrumetum, I did not intend to binde myselfe to giue them by tale, but by weight. The force of them me thincks is such in the place you cite. But you do not (as you write in your former letters) say that *impulses are requisite to giue* posse agere, but *ad agendum*. Neither that without them a man may say *I could* do nothing, but I *doe nothing*. And in the latter, I *say not actu orare can not be* with out a new impulse, but that *it is never* without ec. This is a very nice difference. We are speaking of a power which may be brought into act. For the cause of just condemnation for not beleeuing must not be a remote power, if God would haue given an impulse to use it, but a neare, yea, next power not used: viz. at least to call for Gods further grace, which a sinner by grace saw himselfe to neede, and God to be ready to giue. This negligence me thincks may well stop the mouth of all such as are inlightned and convicted of the truth of the doctrine, which come not to Fayth and conversion. For it may be sayd, *ye had not because ye asked not*, James 4. 2. If any shall say, I could not aske without a new impulse the answer is good I confesse, *Thou hadst it but didst resist it!* But whereas you seeme to feare least without some greater grace a beleeuer should glory in him selfe, that he is no more engaged to God then he that askes not—that feare is very needeles; and by that meanes you make way for a new excuse, *I had not the grace which should make that impulse* effectuall and vnresisted. And therefore it seemes to me of these points (salvo meliori judicio) that whosoeuer hath posse orare may actu orare without any other impulse, or, if he haue an impulse alike with him that is converted, needs no other grace.

Touching my taking the Degree of Doctor by Dispensation, though you had put me in minde thereof, I thinck I should not haue made any such suite to be of that nomber you mention without keeping Actes. In truth they haue given me my Gracè at Dublin (as I vnderstand since my comming away) with what conditions I know not: but there, if any where, it may be I shall take that Degree. For my iorney toward Dublin, I thinck it will not be till toward the latter end of Aprill. I had purposed to meete you at London at the begining of the Parliament, but I haue beene hindered by some occasions of importance. The Lord in his mercy blesse this meeting and send a happy issue to it. And he haue you in his keeping with Mris Ward and all yours

Your ever loving freend
W. Bedell.

Horningerth this
24th of March 1627.

XXVII.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; differences between the vice-provost of Dublin College and the fellows; the retaining of Horningsheath; the theological question of grace; translation of a tract of Paul Sarpi's, relative to the bearing of arms by Roman Catholics; Apr. 28, 1628.

[Tanner MS LXXII. f. 275 and f. 277.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. I haue receiued (Good Mr Dr) your letters sent by Mr Avis, since my retorne from London where I spake with our Chancellor, My Lord of Canterbury, and wrote to my Lord Primate our Vicechancellor, and to the College. There hath beene a new stirre there, The Vice provost hath holden an election of Fellowes Probationers, wherein he endeavoured to bring in one of his kindred, and name, which the major part not concurring unto, he would not consent to the election of some others that sate, but left the places unchosen. Thereupon the Lord Deputy hath put in 3 by mandate: and the Vice-Provost hath admitted them. For which the Visitors (amongst whom my Lord Primate as Vicechancellor is one) have put him out of his Vice-Provostship and fellowship. This I understand by letters from Dublin to other men at London. For my selfe haue not receiued a worde from them hereabout. I do see well (as you write) how necessary it were for me to keepe the interest of my place here; but yet from the College or my Lord Primate thereabout I can not yet heare any thing. My Lord of Canterbury touching my case concurres in opinion with you; that I haue not *beneficium*, and sayth he will maintaine it against any man. I haue written to my Lord Primate, and purpose to expect his answer: which I shall haue leysure to doe, one of my boyes being sick of an Ague, which he hath had these 6 weekes. I haue put my place there in my Lord Primates hands to dispose of as he shall thinck best for the good of the College: not so much for the stirres before mentioned, as because I haue seene it written from Dublin, that my Lord Primate sayth, *I am a weake man, and so accounted by wise men:* which indeede is most true. Of this I haue plainely written to him. You may keepe this to your selfe, for my reputation.

Touching Gods trialls of a man, where in you grant, *God leaves him to his habituall abilityes, without new prævention*s, and that *God conserving gratious habits by his assisting grace may keepe men from falling without a new impulse.* I require no more then you yield. For surely the not falling when a man is thus pushed at, is *a victory* (acheiued by the Lords helpe, as must be acknowledged Psal. 118. 13.) Neither while we liue here, haue we euer any other victory, than that of Ajax—non sum superatus ab illo. And me thincks the new impulse giving

no more but a further degree of strength to countervaile the temptation, if (by supposition) a mans habituall grace be emprooved and elevated to that degree of strength before the temptation, it may (if a man will use it) be able to overcome that temptation, as well as with a new impulse. Where you say *in cases of triall that a man conscious to him selfe of his owne weaknes seeks to God for support, and so by his grace becommeth victor;* I demand whether doth he thus seeke without a new impulse, or no? If so, we haue that which we sought: If not, then there is no pyth in this answer, which leaues the matter as we fownd it. Questionlesse, the triall stands in that what a man *will doe when he is thus and thus prooued:* as Abraham whether he *will sacrifice* Isaac, Job whether he *will curse* God, Hezekiah whether he will *boast* of his wealth, Peter whether he will deny Christ, Paul whether he will *goe back* for feare of bonds at Hierusalem,—not if he will. When God, assisting only formerly-granted habits, leaves it to vs to doe or not to doe, the doing it selfe is an act of our will (as you grant in that Concio pag. 6.) The well doing is to be attributed to Gods grace: the ill to naturall corruption.

I am yet perswaded *Gratiam et adjutorium dari ad singulos actus* was not vnderstood by Antiquity otherwise, then Gods preventing and assisting Grace is required to euery act; so as without the same we will and doe nothing well. See St Aug. De Grat. Chr. Cap. 47.

Whether an object alone can make an impulse, especially whether *cogitatio* includeth *initium boni desiderii*; ampliandum censeo. *initium* is a false string, that giues an vncertaine sownd: for we may understand that which is *so of it selfe*, or that which *may become* so, if we will: as was the sight of the forbidden fruite to Eve.

Vim et adjutorium dari ad ambulandum in singulis ambulationibus you will not deny: and that is parallel to the definition against Pelagius, Gratiam et adjutorium ec. Conservatio is indeede continuata donatio.

In the killing of Abel by Cain (setting aside the deformity) I do not thinck you will seriously averre that God is the *præmovens*, or in the eating the forbidden fruite. For my part I dare not say it: and I sweate to thinck it.

I hold it enough to entitle God to the *gift of the will and deede*, that he gives ἱκανότητα. I say further against Pelagius, adjuvat ut velimus, adjuvat ut agamus, nec tantummodo ut velle et agere valeamus. And I beleeue, besides remission of sinnes and Christs teaching and example, there is adjutorium bene agendi adjunctum naturae atque doctrinæ per inspirationem flagrantissimæ et luminosissimæ charitatis. This would haue satisfied St Aug. and there is nothing more that I finde in the places you alledge. We haue not velle et operari *per nos ipsos*, nec in his duobus *ejus auxilio non* indigemus. Et nihil omnino boni sine gratia Dei quod ad pietatem pertinet veramque justitiam fieri posse non dubito. In Summe, if Pelagius would haue acknowledged *gratious habits* and Gods *perpetuall and speciall assistance to euery good worke*, I do not thinck there had any question remained whether this must be by a new impulse at euery severall act. Which is our question at the present.

3[1]. *Bona voluntas* in the passage of Fulgentius, and in ordinary acception sownds not for an act, *but a habit.* As for that of Ezekiel *facere ut faciamus*, I account it respected in the next members. And that this *facere* is, in perseverantia bonæ conversationis. For the place is I thinck Chap. 36. 27, 'I will make that ye shall walke in my statutes.' Which may be verified (though in sundry particulars a man faile) in the whole course; and so leaues place for trialls. The runner indeede winnes the prize; and what helpes it to haue the faculty and not vse it? but that by your opinion can neuer be true, without a new impulse.

4, 5. The good use of grace, in what sense it *is grace* I shewed in my last. The Topick place, that *the end is better than the meanes*, is vnderstood of such as are properly so. The forme and operation, efficient and effect are so but only by a large and abusive analogy; The heate of the Sunne doth not excell the Sunne ec. nor discourse reason, nor cutting the knifes edge. For that, *whether supposeing the infusion of habits preceede acts, a man may be denominated fidelis from the habit of fayth*, it is but a controversy of wordes. An opinion may make a denomination, where there is no habite at all, much more a habite. But the supposition I remember we haue doubted of sometymes; and the question is no more, but quid est fidelis?

6. I say still, *Totum Deo. The good use of any habit*, both as it is *good*, and as it is *an act*; but in different dependency, the one as supernaturally impressed, the other as connaturally assisted. Consider your owne words in your Concio. pag. 6 *a*, Quorsum hæc omnia ec. I haue seene the place in St Aug. 2 de peccat. meritis Cap 18. But farre be it from me to thinck that *bona voluntas ex nobis est.* We are now speaking of *volitio*: and that also, not (*quâ nos ad Deum*) converting—quod nisi ipso excitante atque adjuvante non possemus, as St Aug. sayth there,—but after we are converted. The question is of the exercise of this good will, whether it be more worth then the goodnes. I trow not. Of the end and meanes I spake before. The forme is not medium to the operation (which it produceth immediately). Media are understood such, as the Agent useth, out of it selfe and his inward abilityes, to compasse the ende, and not of his owne facultyes and functions.

To the Worshipfull and my Reverend freend Mr Dr Warde.

XXVIII.

Bedell to Dr Ward. He is about to return to Ireland.

[Tanner MS LXXII. f. 277.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

These inclosed I wrote in answer to your Letters receiued by Mr Avis (Good Mr Dr) before the Fast. The next day I went into Essex where

[1] See p. 282.

I haue beene euer since till Saturday last, so as they haue lyen by me by for lack of carriage. Since the writing them I haue receiued letters from my Lord Primate, certifieing me of their proceedings and requireing my speedy retourne: and conformably to them other from the College. Neither he, nor they, doe declare their opinions touching the case I propounded, but differre till my comming thither. I haue resolved to goe; and, when I come there, either to resigne or (if they be of opinion I may) to send hither to my Patrone to substitute in my place, and obtaine the Faculty: which if I resigne shall not neede. I wrote this day fortnight to Dr Preston in answer of a letter which he sent by his man while I was at London: and I sent him inclosed a letter from Mr Rice, a Gentleman of this Country, to me which I entreated him to send me back, or deliuer to you. If he haue not yet deliuered it, I pray you send to him for it, and send it me. I haue begunne to translate into Latin a litle Tract of Padre Paulo, set forth in Italian, and Englished also, as I thinck, by Dr Brent of Merton College, touching the question whether Catholicks may beare armes vnder the States. Wherein sundry tricks of the Papacy are discouered. If that be once finished I purpose presently to put my selfe on the way for Ireland with my family. I hope to be at Cambridge about the 12 or 14th of May. I thanck you for your newes of Mr Mawes disputation which made his mother a glad woman. So reserveing the rest till our meeting, I committ you to the Lords mercifull protection and remaine euer

Your assured loving freend

W. Bedell.

I pray know of Mr Buck whether he will print the Tract of Pre Paulo aforesayd: in the same letter and volume with the history of the Interdict[1] It may perhaps helpe him to dispatch those Copies which are yet vnsold the better. It is not aboue 4 sheetes of paper in the Italian. It is entitled in English *The free Schoole of Warre*, printed by John Bill.

Horningerth this 28th of Aprill 1628.

To the Worshipfull and my very
loving freend Mr Dr
Warde Master of Sydney
Colledge in Cambridge
deliver this
Aprill 28, 1628.

[1] Interdicti Veneti historia, by Paolo Sarpi, translated into Latin by W. Bedell. Camb. 1626.

XXIX.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; the question of grace; May 6, 1628.

[Tanner MS LXXII. f. 279.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, your letter of the 27th of Aprill being left at Bury, came not to me till the Wednesday after. Your last I receiued yesterday. I thank you for them both. For the words, *or set vp in Churches*, I would they were stricken out altogether. For they were not in the originall Copy I sent to Sir Th. Barker[1], but came *sub styli acumen* as I wrote this Copy out of my first blotted and enterlyned papers. Although with that addition (to that purpose) they might passe, yet they are not necessary to the point in question. The other 12 *tymes* for 13 *tymes*, let it stand still; touching which there will be no question, and the rownd number of 12 will avoyd the seemeing too much λεπτολογῶν.

For the differences yet betweene us about *the necessity of new impulses to euery exercise of supernaturall habits*, beare with me I beseech you though through my dulnes and incapacity I be not yet satisfied. First to the points of your former letter.

6. Where in your letter of March the 9 you brought this as an argument against me, that with out a new impulse *the will should excite and determine it selfe* ec. I sayd that according to your doctrine it doth so: which now *you denie not*. So that here we agree. For I denie not that God's grace doth inable it so to do, and by a sweet influence and perpetuall assistance and frequent impulses induce it so to do, and inure it still to delight and rejoice in the doing, with consolations and mercifull visitations: adde herevnto corrections and hedging the way with thornes, when it goeth a whoring from God, all which, as I take it, do serve to make good that of Ezekiel, 'I will cause you to walke in my statutes.' These speeches of the whole course, whereby God workes Perseverance, do not seeme to me to compell that in euery severall act, especially in triall, God giues a new impulse.

7. The will is not *primus motor* for it makes not it selfe, either as *a will* or *a good will*. In mooving *libere*, if *I must make the will to be primus motor*, so must you too by your owne doctrine Conc. p. 6 *a*. Yet I would not say it is *primus motor*, but *proximus*; sithence the precedence of him in quo movemur is necessary to our motion both in nature and grace; causaliter to make vs *moovable*, and concomitanter to moove with us.

For *posse orare* and *actu orare*: if *posse orare* be not *posse actu orare*, the giving of that giues not this: and so a new impulse may seeme to be

[1] To whom the treatise *An Examination of certain motives to Recusancy* was dedicated.

necessary. But if contrarywise, the distinction is needeles as I conceive it, to say that impulses are necessary not to giue *posse*, but *ad orandum*.

I come to your 2nd letters. My argument was this: An impulse seemes not necessary but to giue a further degree of strength to countervayle the temptation. But that by supposition might be granted before the temptation. What needes then a new impulse? Let the grace giuen be as (2)[1] without a new impulse it will not countervale a temptation as (3). But suppose before the temptation come grace were emprooved or encreased to be as (3 or 4) what needs now a new impulse? This was my argument which I make not as if it were the order in all temptations, as you seeme to conceiue, but to shew that, if it euer be so, an impulse is not alwayes necessary. In your order I cannot conceiue how you make not him that conquereth the temptation to difference himselfe euery whit as much as I. For you say III. God excites the will by an effectual motion to use the habit, *yet resistibiliter* I demand them, whence it comes that it is not resisted but from the will it selfe. But I would say it is no inconvenience that a man differences himselfe *by grace*, though not a new speciall grace. Or to speake better, he that yeildeth differenceth himselfe by his cowardly casting away his armes. And his having as great an engagement to God, *encreases his sinne*, but diminishes not the grace of God by which the other conquers and stands.

That the Faith of Abraham is tryed *when his will is left to the habituall grace it had before triall*, is truly sayd by you and without *any extraordinary emprouement at the tyme of the temptation or new impulse*. In his case we both agree, that *he doth propend to defection naturally* unlesse he be supported by God. I hold the sustentation of his former grace was sufficient (as the euent shewes) to his ouercoming. The will could not *by naturall* power excite it selfe to resist or pray. For these be supernaturall acts. Abrahams victory is by you very truly sayd to be by an act of firme relieing upon God's truth and power, ec. *Habits excite not to act*,—that is also granted. But by the supernaturall habit the soule gets a supernaturall power to excite it selfe to exercise, according to the strength of grace receiued. This is the point you must infringe.

Bradwarden I neuer had, nor read. If it be so that by auxilium speciale he meane a new impulse, it is true he contradicts me. And for that you say you know no divine holds with me in this,—I haue not turned any authors: but you shall not lightly in conference meete with any but will grant that when God hath giuen grace, we can vse it, without a new impulse to euery severall act.

Adjutorium ut bene velimus et agamus, in St Augustine (place cited by the pag. 25) speakes of the first receiuing a good will and resolution to do well, not of the severall acts succeeding, which is our case. Not but that I acknowledge such adjutorium to be giuen also; but whether anew giuen is the question. In that speech *Gratiam et adjutorium dari ad*

[1] This and the following numbers appear to refer to the numbered heads of the letter of March 24.

singulos actus—these 2 wordes seeme to me to be put analogicè (as Faith Heb. 12) for either the first giuing the habits, or a gracious conservation of them, or a concourse of God, or representing objects, or a new impulse, or all. For all these are *grace* and *helpe* to the Apotelesme. And *ad singulos actus* is to aduantageously translated *at the producing of euery act*; where as it meanes no more but *to the producing*. And thus *vim movendi dari ad singulos motus, ambulandi ad singulas ambulationes*, doth justly parallel the former.

In the case of Eue or Cains acts, you change the state question with the terme. I denie not that God is the author of these motions, and that by his ayd and influence they are done, as Augustine and Anselme say. The former terme was *primum movens* and it was brought to justifie *impulsus*. To say then that God did first give the impulse to Eue or Caine in their motion, I do thinck under your correction is very offensiuely and untruly spoken; and differs nothing from that in the Comedy *Deus mihi impulsor fuit*.

Touching that which you call my old defence of Durand's opinion, and the truths thereupon depending. Indeede my discourse is this. That which is *commune auxilium in naturalibus* is *speciale in spiritualibus*. But *in naturalibus* to a habit sustayned by the author of nature a new impulse is not necessarily required. Ergo that to euery burning there is a new impulse or speciall immediate action præmovent (as you seeme to hold) from God,—I cannot conceiue. Deus urit, I grant, sed mediante formâ ignis. But for these,—*Deus volat, Deus ambulat*, or *Deus credit*—I thinck you would not use them. Yet he giues them also, but as it seemes to me by giving the ἱκανότητα.

All the passages that I haue yet met withall in St Augustine, where he sayth God giues not only the *posse* but the *velle*, oppose Pelagius his naturall possibility; and stablish on the other side *an actuall beleefe and regeneration*,—venire, velle, and operari. I haue not found any professed handling of our question. I doubt not but bona voluntas sounds for *bona volitio*, euen the actuall willing conversion and Charitas[1], with which the habit is brought in: but more frequently the habit it selfe, as in Fulgentius, because he sayth *ab ipso initium bonæ voluntatis*. St Augustine saith directly *Quasi vero aliud sit bona voluntas, quam Charitas*. De gratia Christi, Cap. 21.

The prayers and thancksgivings of the Church are not for ἱκανότης only: who doubts of it? For what is more to be desired, then that God would giue us new, frequent, yea perpetuall impulses to good? And what safer then to ascribe *totum Deo*, in the exercise of euery good grace in us?

I haue respect to the corruption of nature; and know it opposeth gracious habits. Yet do I make those habits with their perpetuall assistance of *no lesse* potent operation than those in Adam or in naturall agents. Otherwise what should there neade the vouching so potent a cause *stronger* than he that dwelleth in the world, so strong a forme as charity as *strong* as death a divine flame, and unquencheable. So watchfull a keeper and

[1] For the meaning of Charitas here see p. 285.

mighty as God and *his power*, 1 Pet. 1. 5. Consider your owne testimony out of St Augustine, p. 28. Where you desire me to object against the reasons in your Concio, Excuse: I doe not conceiue they appertaine to our question. I yeild the conclusion for which they are brought. Viz. Quod in opere conversionis Deus non tantun operatur posse convertere, sed etiam dat ipsum velle convertere. For which conclusion (as I hope) I should not doubt to shed my blood. But that is not our question. Nor was it my intention any way to oppose that; and in my poore judgment it were good to discerne these 2 questions. As for the confirmation of the 4th Argument (out of Bradwarden as it seemes) pag. con. 27, these assertions, Actus secundus est nobilior quam actus primus vel habitus, and, habitus non est causa principalis secundi actus sed instrumentalis, I am affrayd they are not found in Philosophy. These things I wrote this morning, but what with the length of the matter and some other distractions, it is now too late to send it by the Carrier. Pardon I pray my tediousnes, and troublesomenes and account me euer

Your much beholden freend
W. Bedell.

Horningerth, May 6, 1628.

I thanck you for your kinde invitation. I cannot certainely appoint the day of my coming; for it hangs vpon the coming of a Chester waggon hither from London. I hope it wilbe toward the middle of the next weeke at the vttermost.

To the Worshipfull and my
Reverend freend Mr Dr
Warde at Sydney Coll.

XXX.

Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; sends the translation of Sarpi's tract for publication; May 7, 1628.

[Tanner MS LXXII. f. 281.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

Good Mr Doctor: I send you here the Tract that I mentioned in my last which I haue since coming from London (where I got the Italian copy) put into Latin. The English Translator in sundry things vnderstood not the Author, especially towards the latter end. I do thinck it a treatise very worthy to see the light, whereby sundry mysteries of the Papacy are discovered. What Title to put in the first leafe I doubt: what thinck you of *Quæstio Quodlibetica. An liceat* ec.[1] For the name of Quodlibet seemes

[1] The book had this title—*Quaestio quodlibetica. An liceat stipendia sub Principe religione discrepante merere.* 4° Cantab. 1630.

to be from thence because in them Schoole men followed not the order of the Sentences but disputed de quovis proposito. [The Italian Copy is the same in the first leafe which I haue set in the Latin: only in this Order. Tractatus An liceat ec.] Whether it might not be fitt to ad the authors name at least thus, *Authore R. P. P. S. V. recens ex Italica conversa?* For dedication I would make none, not set to my name. But the print and volume I would wish the same with the History of the Interdict. If Mr Buck will print it, the sooner the better. If not; I desire to receiue the Copy at my comming by you. These enclosed I wrote to haue sent yesterday but it was so late ere I finished them that they could not be sent. Touching my L. Primates censure[1], which you aduise me not *to lay to heart*, I do no otherwise esteeme him then as you characterize him a true vpright man. And therfore writing as he doth to myselfe, I cannot but doubt whether he spake the words or no. But the thing it selfe is very true concerning my weakenes, and the more because of my defect in heareing, which makes me committ some impertinencies in conversation. Yet both he and the College urge me to come, and I am resolved to goe. Et cum periero periero. For my benefice I shall determine when I come there. Thus againe commending you to the grace of God I rest

Your euer loving freend

W. Bedell.

Horningerth this
7th of May 1628.

To the Worshipfull and my
Reverend freend Mr
Doctor Ward Mr of
Sydney College in
Cambridge dr
this.

XXXI.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; farewell letter on going to Ireland; May 13, 1628.

[Tanner MS LXXII. f. 282.]

Salutem in Christo.

Good Mr Dr, I should haue beene glad and desirous to haue seene you before my departure. But it is not the will of God it should be so. For your occasions call you to London, which I beseech you do not forslowe or neglect for my uncertainties. But my last letters from London I understand that my wagon will not come hither before this night, or to morrow at the soonest. A day or 2 it will cost me to lade before I can get away,

[1] The Archbishop of Armagh (Ussher). For his remark as to Bedell's weakness, see p. 284.

and a day to Cambridge. Thus the most of the weeke will be past. But in truth Mr Burnet writes it may be longer ere my wagon come, and I do beleeue it will be so indeede. Wherefore, if it be not the pleasure of God that we should see one another in the face, let us be content. Often may we meete at the throne of grace in heaven by our mutuall intercessions each for other, which agreement let it stand betweene us for euer. One thing more I haue to request of you, that if it please God to call me out of this life before you, as I haue named you in my last Will together with Dr Despotine and Mr Sotheby ouerseers for the performance thereof, you would be pleased to afforde your helpe that all may goe right. And if my children, according as I desire, prooue Schollers, let me leaue them besides their portions this inheritance of your freendship, to direct and further them in good courses. And now, Good Mr Doctor, mercy and truth be with you and with Mris Warde, and all yours. The Lord haue you in his mercifull keeping.

Your assured loving freend
for euer W. Bedell.

Horningerth this 13th
of May 1628.

To the Worshipfull and my Reverend good freend
Mr Dr Warde Mr of Sydney Colledge in Cambridge
dr this.

XXXII.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; state of Ireland and of Dublin College; notice of some of his works; July 16, 1628.

[Tanner MS LXXII. f. 288.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, since my comming into Ireland I haue not yet had leysure so much as to write aboue one letter into England, now the opportunity of a hasty messenger makes me breake through all buisiness and salute my freends. Amongst whom neither haue I any more ancient, nor more confident (as the Italian worde is), i. e. more trusty then your selfe. I cannot but begin with thancks for your kindnes to me, my wife, and your Godson on parting, which I desire you also to render in my name to Mris Warde, and to salute all the good company that were at your house. I deliuered your and their letters to my L. Primate who kindly remembered you all. I had a good jorney I thanck God: a calme but slow passage. Being come to this place, we fownd that the whole country was by proclamation of the L. Deputy in a publick course of Fast for 8 weekes euery Tuesday, in respect of the dearth which the last yeares unkindly harvest and this winters morraine of cattell had as 2nd causes procured. Our preachers here lay the higher cause on the tollerating and countenanceing Idolatry, Church robbery, swearing and

blasphemy, blood, drunckenes, pride and other open and insolent sinnes: and they speake marvellous plainely and too truly I feare. For the College, I finde a world of busines. The arrearages of Rents, and accounts formerly runne into, with the vnnecessary expences and allowances, haue set it behinde hande in the estate thereof, and the journeyes into England before my Election and since, haue beene a meanes to exhaust the Rents; and there is demanded a matter of 150 li. by Sir W. Temples widdow, as a gratuity promised him if the next Provost should consent to it: which I haue not yet done nor know how I can with my oath. All this is nothing to the trouble about suites in Law for lands which none in the house knowes what they are, and here come up, poore people complaning of wrongs done them by their neighbours, which we know not how to remedy, ec. Besides the disorders to be redressed dayly, assignation of chambers, taking notes of the going out and retorne of Schollers, meeting for publick buisines, searches for evidences, and the like, take up my time, so as I haue not had in all the tyme of my being here, so much leysure as to set up my bookes, much lesse to use them. I haue undertaken this yeare the office of Catechist in our College, which wilbe some meanes to encrease my Stipend. The preachers place in Christs Church is yet executed by some 4 of the Fellowes, which had it ere I came hither, only into one of them I am to succeed within these few dayes, but my voice I feare wilbe too weake for it, and I shall haue no leysure to provide to performe the duty. For my L. Primate, he useth me with as much respect as I could desire, and I take him to be as you describe him, a marvellous good and true harted man. He rather inclined me at my being with him to retayne the title to my Benefice (forgoeing the profitts) then otherwise. Yet I haue simply resigned it in his presence before a Publick Notary, and sent now the resignation to my Patrone Sir Tho. Jermyn. I haue many reasons: that especially—in an oath I hold it not safe nor honest to play the Interpreter to mine owne advantage, especially God having by his providence now safely brought me hither with my family; which was the only cause of delay which I did except in my protestation, when I tooke mine oath, why I should not resigne presently. For my Degree, I thinck to take it at our Commencement which is deferred till about the begining of Michaelmas Terme.

At which tyme it is sayd we shall haue a Parliament here, and therein the Graces which the Agents obtayned of his Majesty there, confirmed if it may be; if (as good men hope) the Parliament there crosse them not before.

I did what I could to withstand the deferring our Commencement till then, avoyding so long and great an expectation and greater charge, which it will draw with it but others will haue it so. It is desired much that we should make a Theatricall pompe of it, at St Patricks; which would haue beene better *intra domesticos parietes*. For my health, with my wife, children and family, I thanck God we haue beene all well hitherto: and although corne is yet very deare, and bread small, yet the price of it falleth by transportation from England, and flesh is reasonable enough.

Thus haue I endeavoured to certifie you of the state of this Kingdome, this College, and my selfe in particular, and my affaires. Of my studyes you can expect nothing till my bookes and I be freends[1], and then also my 1st endeavour shalbe to vnderstand *the toung of this Country which* I see (although it be accounted otherwise) *is a learned and exact language* and full of difficulty. I haue taken a litle Irish boy, a Ministers Sonne, of whom I hope to make good vse to that purpose, when I shall haue a litle more leysure.

At my parting from Cambridge Mr Buck had not fully printed my *answer to the Motiues to Recusancy.* There was wanting the first sheete, with the Epistle, and the Motiues themselves. If they be added by this tyme I would desire him to send me some Copies, so many as he will allow me for the Copy, and some 50 more. If he had rather let me haue some copies of the *History of the Interdict* it shalbe at his election. If he haue printed the *Quodlibeticall question* I desire to haue some 30 or 40 or more of them, the money shalbe answered from Mr Sotheby: the bookes I would entreate to be sent to Mr Francis Burnet at the golden-fleece in Lombard streete. Some I hope to receiue for that copy also without paying for them. Good Sir, deliuer this inclosed to Mr Maw from his mother: he may retourne answer by Mr Burnet aboue sayd.

And so with my true loue remembered, I committ you to the Lords mercifull protection, and do rest

Yours for euer,
W. Bedell.

Trinity Colledge neare
Dublin this 16th of
July 1628.

To the Worshipfull and my very
Reverend freend Mr Dr Warde
Master of Sydney Colledge
dr this
in Cambridge.
Leave this with Mr Sotheby or with
Mr Francis Burnet, at the
golden fleece in lombard St.
16 July 1629.

[1] Imitated perhaps from Cicero *ad fam.* IX. 1.

XXXIII.

Bedell's letter to Ussher; solution of chronological difficulties in the book of Judges; progress in the Irish language at Dublin College; Irish translation of the Psalms; July 30, 1628.

[Tanner MS LXXII. f. 290.]

Right Reverend Father my Honourable good Lord,

I vnderstood by Mr Puttock that your Grace requireth me to set downe the interpretation of the places in the Judges Chap. 3. 11. 30 and the rest, whereof at my beeing without you we had speach. That the yeares of the oppressors are to be included in those formes there is no doubt: the matter stands all in this, how to expresse so much without using force to the text. For; *hæc gesta* {40/80} *annorum* seemes very constrained: and the later forme of Junius, ad annum quadragesimum ec. though the way is good, and the words ארבעים be put for an ordinall elsewhere, as Deut. i. 3, yet me thincks it might be better ad quadraginta annos scil. completos, only the account is to begin from the beginning of the former trouble, after which the rest ensued. This I know not how to expresse better in English then—*and the land had rest till forty yeares' ended &c.*

I haue according to your Graces letters, imparted to me by Mr Thomas, propounded Mr Burtons sonne for a natiues place, and we haue chosen him therto, with condition that he shall haue allowance when he can reade the toung[1]. We haue brought Mr King to reade an houre euery day to those that are already chosen, to frame them to the right pronunciation and exercise of the language, to which purpose we haue gotten a few coppies of the booke of Common prayer, and do begin with the Catechisme which is there in. I hope this course will not be unfruitefull. The translation of the Psalmes into prose and verse, whereof I spake to your Grace, would be a good worke, and Mr King hath giuen us an assay in the first psalme which doth not dislyke Mr Fitz Gerald and Mr Lisiagh; yet I doe forbeare to vrge that yet, because I heare that there is a translation made of the Psalmes already, in the handes of the late Archb. of Tuam's wife, which I also put in hope to obtaine by meanes of one Mr Brimigham sometymes of this house. I beseech your Grace to helpe what you may to the obtaining of this Copy, and in this and in all other our attempts direct us with your aduice. Here haue been with me of late the Bp of Clogher his sonne, and the Bp of Rapho's sonne (with whom Mr Puttock hath to doe) for one cause; about certaine livings whereof the King that dead is gaue the right of Patronage to the College, recompenceing them with lands for the same as I am informed, and yet they stand out, denieing to resigne the right of these livings to the College.

[1] Irish. See *Life*, p. 25.

I haue also heard that there be some in your Graces handes of that like nature: which if it be so, I make no question but you will goe before them in example, (as you doe in place and loue to this Society) and use your best authority that the College may sustaine no damage. Concluding with my humble service to your Grace, and your deare consort, I committ you to the Lords mercifull protection, and do rest

Your Graces in all duty,
W. Bedell.

Trinity College this
30th of July 1628.

To the Right Reverend Father in God my Lord Archbp of Armagh Primate of all Ireland my verie good Lord deliuer these.

XXXIV.

Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; state of the dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh; purposes printing an answer to Paul Washington's pamphlet against Ussher; May 24, 1629.

[Tanner MS LXXI. *f.* 8.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, I thanck you for your kinde letters of the 28th of Aprill. There is no reason you should be solicitous of excuse of your silence, for my fault may be set against it, if it be a fault: but I know now better by experience the manifold distractions and litle leysure of him that is the governor of such a Society as yours is. And somewhat also I perceiue by your letters of your Consistory, and other Vniversity buisines: I am assured of your loue and I hope also you are no lesse of mine, the expression of it, shall take fitt opportunityes as either of our occasions shall allowe. I am glad to heare of Mr Brigges his meeting with you, I haue mett with John Widdowes, and if I can effect it in the letting of our Northern lands (which my Lord Primate perswades us to ere I leaue this place) I will do him a good turne. God hath according to your motto (*Deus providebit*) provided for me without my seeking, or knowledge, the Bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh, which haue beene long united; and if there were in me sufficiency thereto, ether of them both hath worke enough: the people almost all popish, the Irish without exception: all complaining of the exactions of the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, whereabout now the Chancellor is sued and contriued against (and he hath a Patent of his place confirmed by Deanes and Chapters), the Country also hath a complaint of the exactions of the Clergy and hath had an inquisition by commission thereabout. The poore people of that Country many are come to you into England (aboue a 1000 as I am assured out of one County in my Dioces), many are dead, the residue haue no bread; horse and dogs flesh is eaten, and an extraordinary Assises and goale deliuery is granted, as my Chancelour this day informed me, least the

prisoners starue in the Gaole. Touching the Quodlibetica questio, let Mr Buck take his tyme: if I could get your Italian copy of that other litle booke touching the *Valtaline*, I would add that also. It is worthy the knowledge of posterity. If I get once a litle leysure I may chance print my answer to Washington (so I vnderstand he is called and he was sometymes of Christs Coll.) about Mr Alablasters Demandes, with some other thinges of like argument. This fellow hath set abroad a scoffing railing pamphlet, against my L. Primates Wansted sermon touching the succession of our Church, wherein he bestowes the batle vpon me. And I heare it is in print: I haue it in written hand. I may perhaps, when I am a litle more free, print all that which hath passed betweene vs. I could desire to vnderstand if Mr Buck will deale with it. I am of your minde touching our 17th Article of the English Confession, that it thwarts predestination *ex fide praevisa*. Touching St Augustine's opinion, that no non-electi are truly regenerate, I thinck he was variable, for other places there are that shew he thought some that had dilectionem, or fidem quae per dilectionem operatur, might utterly perish; and that none can be certaine of perseverance except by speciall revelation. Touching our Irish Articles I did not know there was such a good Confession of this Church, till I read your letters. The 38 Article is most orthodoxall in my opinion also. For our question, *an novus impulsus detur ad singulos actus*, at our better leisure let us thinck more of it. This bearer calls for my letters which makes me make an end. The Lord in mercy looke vpon his poore Church, and this part of it as poore as any; and my particular Diocesse poorely furnished of a Bishop. The comfort of whose hart is, God is rich in mercy to all that call upon him. Assist him therfore, good Mr Dr, with your earnest prayers and the same kindnes I entreate of Dr Chaderton and Dr Sancroft[1] and all my good freends with you. Remember me and my wife to Mris Warde and continue to loue your euer assured freend,

W. Bedell.

Trinity Coll. this 24th
of May 1629.

To my Reverend and most
Worthy freend Mr Dr
Warde Mr of Sydney
Colledge deliuer
this
at Cambridge.

[1] A fellow and afterwards Master of Emmanuel. Uncle of the Archbishop.

XXXV.

Junij 2, 1629. *Mr Beedle (to Laud). About the freedome of Election in the Coll. at Dubline.*

[State Papers Ireland 1629, June.]

Right Reverend Father my Honourable good Lord,

The undeserved favour your Lordship hath beene pleased lately to shew me, makes others presume to use me as a Mediator for them. And especially this house which doth esteeme it selfe thereby entered into your Lordships patronage and protection. The fellowes of this College having received an inhibition from his Majesty to elect a new Provost, till they shall understand his further pleasure, and jealous least their silence in this second suspension of their Privilege should in tyme make it worthlesse, have sent two of their number to supplicate to his Majesty for their freedome in Election. I could not with mine oath but give way to this their desire, and some furtherance also by these lines. I beseech your Lordship to vouchsafe them audience, and that favourable assistance in their suite which their Proposition upon the hearing shall seeme to your Lordship to meritt. You shall thereby both engage this Society unto you and more oblige

Your Lordships ever most bownden,
W. Bedell.

Trinity Colledge this 2d of June 1629.

(addressed) To the Right Reverend Father in God and my verie good Lord, my Lord Bishop of London deliver this at London house.

XXXVI.

Bp Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; the vacant provostship of Dublin College; state of Kilmore; Oct. 6, 1629.

[Tanner MS LXXI. f. 16.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, having the opportunity of this Messenger now retorning for England, I could not but salute you, though

it were shortly; and without any serious matter more then the profession my true love to you. These letters are the first I wrote into England from this place, whither I came the *vijth of September*, having beene consecrated at *Droghedah the* 13*th*. The delay of my Consecration so long was occasioned, partly by the desire of our fellowes to haue a free election; partly out of my Lord Primates and mine to renew the College Ulster Leases, before an vnknown successor should come; which I thanck God I haue happily effected so as within these 6 yearcs there wilbe almost double the present rents, which it had of these lands formerly. I haue not yet heard whom they haue chosen for my successor. But I make no question but it is Dr Usher my Lord Primates Cosin, and sometymes fellow of that house. Whom they nominated to the King and had leaue to elect but were forbidden to elect till they heard from the King, vpon my Lord Primates approbation of him and testimony to the King. I am come hither into a Country fertile enough and pleasant, but where Popery hath possessed not only the ancient inhabitants, but also our English which planted here at the first, almost universally: and our late plantations are yet rawe, the Churches ruined. My Cathedrall Church is such another as Horningerth was, but without Steeple, Bell or Font. You may imagine the rest—the Popish Bishop of this Diocese is lately chosen Primate, and dwells within a mile or 2 of me. I am in deliberation to write to him, and offer some intercourse; as I see the African Churches and Bishops did to the Donatists. I desire you to helpe me with your prayers and aduice in any thing which God shall put into your minde for the furtherance of the common cause. So with my true loue and commendations to Mris Ward I rest

Your loving Brother,
W. Kilmore.

Kilmore Oct. 6
1629.

My wife hartyly salutes you and Mris Warde, and would request you to put Mr Mawe in minde to write to her. He may euery weeke write to Mr Francis Burnet at the golden fleece in Lombard Streete, from whom his letters shalbe conveyed to Dublin and so to us. This I thought to aduertise you of also against you haue spare tyme.

To the Right Worshipfull and
my verie Reverend freend
Mr Dr Ward Mr of
Sidney Colledge in
Cambridge deliver
this.

XXXVII.

Bp Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; question on the effects baptism; legacy of Sir John Brereton's; difference betwe himself and his Chancellor, Alan Cooke; Apr. 2, 1630.

[Tanner MS LXXI. f. 43.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu. Good Mr Dr, I receiued your letters of t 12th of January the 15th of February, and there being with me the Dea of Kilmore, then going towards my Lord Primate, I sent your bookes n opening the packet (as Mr Deane desired me) to him, who retourned the to me signifieing that he had them long before: I thanck you hartyly f them, and read them over greedily, the rather (besides that they came fro you and my L. of Salisbury) for that some 2 or 3 yeares since I rememb you communicated some thoughts of yours with me concerning that arg ment, and I thinck I retourned a short answer. I haue not the leysure giue you my opinion now at large, neither do I know when I shall, so am distracted with multiplicity of buisines euen aboue strength. But this do yield to my Lord of Sarum most willingly, that the justification sancti cation and adoption which children haue in Baptisme, is not *unavoc mente* the same with that which adults haue: and this I likewise yeild to you that it is *vera solutio reatus et veraciter*, and *in rei verit* performed: and all the like emphaticall formes. But all these *Sacr mentaliter*: and it is obsignative, *ex formulâ et conditione fœder* Where you make Circumcision and Baptisme to be the remedy of origin sinne: I thinck it too specially sayd, which is true of all sinne. And much the text Act. 2. 38 and the rest do shew. I do thinck also th Reprobates coming to yeares of discretion after Baptisme shalbe condemn for originall sinne. For their absolution and washing in baptisme was b conditionall and expectative, which doth truely invest them in all t promises of God; but vnder the condition of repenting, beleeving, a obeying; which they never performe, and therefore never attayne t promise. Consider well what you will say of women, before Christ, whi had no circumcision; and of all mankind before circumcision was institute and you will perceiue I thinck the nature of Sacraments to be not medicines but as seales; to confirme the Covenant, not to conferre t promise immediately. These thinges I write now in exceeding post ha in respect that this bearer goes away so presently; I will only giue sapie occasiones. I thinck the Emphaticall speeches of Augustine against t Pelagians (and of Prosper[1]) are not so much to be regarded; who says t like of the Eucharist also touching the necessity and efficacy in the case Infants: and they are very like the speeches of Lanfranck and Guilmu

[1] Prosper Aquitanus Episcopus Rhegiensis, *Pro gratia et libero arbit secundum Sententiam Divi Augustini*, Mogunt. 1524.

of Christ's presence in that Sacrament, opposing *veraciter* and *vere* to *Sacramentaliter*, which is a false and absurd contraposition. Sed 'manum de tabulâ.' The right definition of a Sacrament *in genere* will decide this question.

I thanck you good Mr Dr, for your conference with Mr Mawe, to whome my wife hath written. I shall not haue that leisure, but if it please you let me intreate you to giue him this aduice; to follow his profession which I weene wilbe Physick. That wilbe a certaine revenew, this casualty otherwise will not long last him.

Touching your legacy of Sir John Breereley, If I were yet in Dublin I could promise you my best service. Now I can do litle; but if you do thinck to employ any Attorney here, and not send any of your followes to prosecute the suite, there is one Mr Greenham which was of Emanuell Colledge in your tyme, a principall Attorney, and sayd to be an honest man and truly religious, whom though I haue no interest in him I durst commend vnto you. Peraduenture your Letters, with my Lord Primates prosecution, will spare the paines of sending till the buisines be a litle riper, which you shall perceiue by Sir Randall's answer. In all this my Lord Primate can giue you the best aduice, for I am yet but a Novice in these affayres and parts.

Touching myselfe, I thanck God I haue my health, and would do something, if there were any overture or occasion. That which I can do as yet is no more, but by integrity and justice (as farre as I can procure it) in my Courts, to gaine the good opinion of the people. I haue inhibited my Chancellor, and because I am persuaded his Patent is naught, do sit in my Courts myselfe, which costs me many a hard weary journey to all the parts of my Diocesses. But the clamor of the people was such as I could not endure; though for this he hath appealed me to my Lord Primates Court, and I am cited to appeare there, which is meerely to vexe me and put me to trouble. I haue refused the triall of that Court, and appealed *ad quem vel quos* for 3 or fower gravamina in the Citacione: that they receiued his appeale, not presenting as he ought my inhibition! Another, that they cite me, where as Inhibition alone did suffice for my Chancellors indemnity, neyther doth it appeare that he did require it. 3. They appoint no certaine terme of my appearance. 4. They say he hath ritè and legitimè appealed before I appeare. Principally they call him *Vicarius qui Kilmorem et Ardaghen legitime fulcetur*: which is a plaine prejudice before the cause be heard. Notwithstanding I do submitt the cause to my Lord Primates judgment *omni appellatione remotâ*, if my Chancellor will do the like, which he refuseth. In short, whether it be for this, or some other doth ill offices against me, I have receiued a very angry letter from my Lord Primate: wherein are strange passages, *accusing me to pull downe that which others haue beene so long in building, and to build castles in the aire*, with other more like wounding phrases. I haue desired to know, what these things meane, which in truth I do not as yet. The sum is, I shall euer love him and honor him, let him use me as he will.

The sentence which the good Archbishop of Canterbury did animate me

withall when I came hither, hath hitherto carried me on. I will go on the strength of the Lord God, and his righteousnes will I remember, s his alone. These thinges *effundo in sinum tuum*, but this bearer is co againe for this letter. The Lord of heaven be with you Good Mr Dr, w your wife and all my friends, or *ours* rather in Cambridge, to who remember me as by name. Who am and shalbe alwayes

Your constant and affectionate
freend
W. Kilmoren et
Ardaghen.

Kilmore this 2nd of
Aprill 1630.

To my verie Reverend
and loving freend Mr
Dr Ward Master of Sidney
Colledge in Cambridge
deliver these.

XXXVIII.

Copy of Letter to Downame[1], *Bp of Derry, on his "Coven of grace"; from Bp Bedell;* Oct. 11, 1630.

[Tanner MS LXXI. f. 49.]

Right Reuerend Father my Honorable good Lord.

Since my comming to this place, I haue by meanes of Mr Pryce, sonnes Tutor, had a viewe of your Lordships worke which is now upon presse, and haue thereby somewhat satisfied my desire, which I had vnderstand more distinctly, that which by my ancient friend Mr Doc Ward I was told of touching your Lordships opinion concerning Justifie fayth, whereabout while we were together in Cambridge aboue 30 yea since he and I had much Inquiry, and resolved differently from that wh your Lordship holds. And although (as your Lordship writes m Christianly) no man is to mervell, much lesse to take offence, at th differences, since we know in part and prophecy in part, and the variet rather in the τεχνολογία than the substance of religion; Yet because I h the occasion offered by Gods providence, to write to you, ere that par your booke be printed, and me thinks your Lordship doth not fully conce the opinion which you dissent from, I will shortly set it downe, that may obtaine either an approbation or fuller confutation from your Lo

[1] George Downame, formerly professor of Logic at Cambridge, ob. 1634.

ship's learned censure. And to proceede *a confessis*: Justifieing faith hath for the obiect therof Christ. This truth is so evident, as it is often expressly layd downe on all sides (your Lordship pag. 73). The obiect of Fayth *quatenus justificat* is Christ; for it justifieth as the Instrument to receave Christ who is our righteousnes. Againe pag. 137 'howsoever the proper obiect of fayth, as it justifieth, is Christ notwithstanding &c.' We haue therefore the obiect of faith, not any truth or assertion concerning Christ, but Christ himselfe. The act also is many tymes rightly made to receive, to lay hold upon &c.—an act certainly of the will; as also, the contrary to reject and refuse, and resembled in Scripture to the appetite of eating and drincking. I know well that knowledge and assent to the truth of the Gospell are sayd to justifie and called fayth. But these precedent habits are common to elect and reprobate, yea to the Devills. Heere is the first plaine and vndeniable difference; these receive not Christ. We haue then the obiect, act, and subiect of fayth. Now for the *maner* how the hart or will receives Christ, prosecuting affections of desire, affiance, trust, resting upon, are in sundry formes expressed or implied; and often also by the way acknowledged to be in true and liuely faith, by those that yet make it to be assent or speciall fayth. Your Lordship [pag. 86, so pag. 96 and 112] sayth that when assent is willing, lively, and effectuall we doe receive Christ not only in our judgments, but also in our harts by an earnest desire that he may be applied unto us, (expressed in harty prayer) and in our will by acknowledging him to be our Saviour, and to rest upon him for our salvation. Touching affiance, you allow it to be an inseparable fruite of fayth, and which seemeth to be implied sometymes in the phrase of believing in Christ: but *fiducia* you say indeede is not fayth [pag. 73]. Here especially I desire your Lordships carefull intention to observe that the trust which we are speaking of is not that παρρησία nor πεποίθησις—whereof the Apostle speakes [Eph. 3. 12] whereby we come boldly to God to aske any thing at his handes [1 Joh. 3. 21], whereby we dare lift vp our heads at Christs appearance [cap. 2. 28], whereby we rejoice under the crosse itselfe upon the hope of the glory of God [Rom. 5. 2], much lesse is it that hope it selfe, albeit Christ is called our hope, and deservedly, as the base of it. Trust in Christ goeth before all these as the cause wherupon they follow, yea fayth in God by Christ goes before all these, for by affiance in Christ we haue entrance and accesse to God [Rom. 5. 2], and by him we beleeve in God that raised him from the dead, and gaue him glory that our faith and hope may be in God [1 Petr. 1. 21], for though the first and immediate obiect of justifieing faith be Christ the mediator, the finall and complete obiect is God that justifieth the ungodly [Rom. 4. 5]. As for hope, betweene which and affiance your Lordship saith there is very litle difference in respect of the tyme to come:—it seemes to me there is the same, that is betwixt the trust that he which is ready to be drowned hath in the planck which he layes hold upon floating neare him, and the good hope he hath to saue himself from drowning when he hath once gotten it. Even the hope that goes before this trust in Christ may be distinguished from it, for that is (me thinkes) very formally expressed in the words of the woman in

the Gospel: "If I may but touch the hem of his garment I shall be whole." This is the touching it selfe, or laying hold upon Christ (as Doctor Redman in Mr Foxe shortly calls it *amplexus Christi*) which followed indeede knowledge, and assent in those that haue it, and ought to follow in all that haue it. And where your Lordship makes not all assent to be justifieing faith, vnlesse it be conditioned, willing, true, lively, and effectuall, under which you bring in also desire of Christ and resting on him for salvation: if these conditions be intrinsecall in the assent you speake of as the two first are willing and true—for the understanding being convicted, suppose *de numero arenæ*, how unwilling soever a man were before, he doth willingly assent; and the act of assent must needs be willing and true, how loath and unwilling soever a man be with the obiect—If as I beganne to say this liveliness and efficacy be in the nature of the assent it selfe, all assent to the Gospell must be justifieing fayth. If againe these be forraine and accidentall, presupposing or requiring other thinges without which assent justifies not, because it is not effectuall, it is evident that in these we must seeke the roote of justification. And such is the receiving of Christ by trust in him.

Touching speciall fayth, that is the habit of a conclusion, made by that practicall syllogisme which you set downe pag. 95: "That it is a very erroneous opinion to thinck we are justified, or doe obtaine remission of sinnes by being assured, and much more fully assured thereof etc."—long since upon the discourse of Vasquel, and many other reasons, seemed to Mr D. W. and me, thereof I shall not neede to add any thing to that purpose. For your Lordships appendix to the treatise of Certainty, in answer to Mr W. P. his first proposition, was the opinion of Padre Paulo of Venice. The 2d may, as it seemes, be defended by that the understanding is sanctified by the truth as the hart rest upon Christ. The 3rd, 4th, 5th and 7th I take to be very erroneous. The 6th in what sense it may be true I haue shewed. The 8th speaking of assent per se as I haue set downe before, I see not how it can be reprooved, wherby the way, touching *fides formata & informis* I thinck (and so mantained when I was in Italy) that taking Charity for that holy inclination of the hart whereby it desireth, trusteth in, resteth upon Christ and God by him (which in the Elect is another degree of faith, added vnto that of assent to the doctrine of the Gospell which they call commonly Catholick fayth) it may very well be granted that this is *informed by Charity*, so as a living faith credere in Deum, is as St Augustine saith *credendo amare, credendo in Deum ire, et membris eius incorporari &c.* or *Fiducia in Deum per Christum Mediatorem.* My Lord, I haue adventured more than perhaps may stand with discretion and humility to write this much, but I know the temper of your ingenuous minde, and the Lord that knowes the harts is my witnes, that I follow the truth in loue, and with all reverence to your Lordship, and not out of any desire of opposition. Sundry thinges more particularly might be said, but your Lordship will conceive my meaning by this litle,

[1] See Durand L. 3, d. 23, g. 8.

which in the middest of my law businesses I haue snatched tymes to write. Desiring your Lordship to take this same as the fruite of the honour and true respect which I beare you, who am and will allwayes desire to be found

Your Lordships servant in Christ Jesu,
Will. Kilmoren and Ardachen.

Dublin
June 24, 1630.

XXXIX.

Another letter to the Bishop of Derry.

In your Lordship's answer to my letter, you doe first premise some thinges, and then come to the severall points contained in it, which order I will also follow. And first for the state of the question betweene us, without which rightly setled we doe but beat the aire. It seemes to me thus. It is not whither there be 2 such degrees of fayth as your Lordship names, viz. that which you call true and lively assent to the truth. The other which our Divines call speciall fayth, For both these I willingly acknowledge. Neither do I dissent from you about the 2nd whereby you say we are justified in our owne conscience, which is not properly justification, but the assurance of it. But besides these 2 I acknowledge another comming betweene them, which is affiance in Christ, being the effect or consequent of the former, and cause of the latter, wherby I account a sinner is justified before God. Neither (as I thinck) doe we dissent in this, that such a trust is in Christ or that it is working to Justification and Salvation; for thus you write after, touching the efficacy of assent. This efficacy is *actus secundus*, whereby that fayth which is true and lively doth worke both to Justification, working in the hart an earnest desire to be made partaker of Christ and his merits, and in the will a resolution not only to acknowledge and professe him to be our Saviour but also to rest vpon him alone for our Salvation &c. And a litle after speaking of trust or affiance: Those who beleeue and are persuaded that Christ is their Saviour, do also trust in him for Salvation &c. Neither do we dissent about the order, viz. that assent must goe before and affiance follow. Nor that one of these is not part of the other, as being the one in the minde, the other in the hart, one haveing for this obiect *verum*, the other *bonum*, the act of one to assent to the truth, of the other to trust, as for that which ye add, and hope for the performance of some good, this addition I do disdaine, makeing the obiect of trust as it justifies no other but Christ himselfe, as in my former letter I shewed. These thinges before being granted, let vs see what remaines as yet in controversy, which as farre as I conceive is (1) whether this affiance be called fayth or no; (2) and whether this be that which is ment, when it is sayd, fayth justifieth only, principally, or at all, and that which you speake,

hath the condition of the promise of Justification before God[1]; (3) whether this affiance be hope and differ or not. In which three, 1. I hold it is called fayth. 2. It is that disposition of the hart that properly justifies. 3. It is not all one with hope, though sometymes called by that name, These thinges premised touching the state of our question I proceede in the letter. The ground you say of your affection is the notation of the worde in the originall tongues. Heere (I shall not neede to teach your Lordship) I might well fasten my foote and say, that the notation of wordes is a very slender proofe, for as much as wordes oftentymes are diversly extended or straightned by use (which claimes to be master of speech) from their originall derivation. And particularly in religious and ecclesiasticall use, they are often otherwise taken than among prophane authors, is not to goe farre, as Erasmus notes of this very worde Fides, which in true Latine *magis pertinet ad eum qui pollicetur aut præstat, quam ad eum qui fidit* (Ad. math. 6). For the other terme also of this proposition 'Fayth iustifies' may be seene. But the truth is I do not know what you would proove by the notation of the worde. If this—that there is such a faith of assent to the truth of the Gospell as you describe (I will not change wordes about it) I do not deny it. But I crave leave from the same ground and place of Invention, to proove the fayth of affiance also, for the word πίστις, and those conjugates πιστός πιστόω and ἀπιστία ἄπιστος ἀπιστῶ ὀλιγόπιστος haue all a signification of trust and distrust as well as of beleefe and unbeleefe both in Scripture and in prophane authors, the Glossaries πιστόω *credo, fido*, πίστεως ἄξιος *credibilis, fidelis*, πιστότερος *magis fidus*, ἀπιστία *Infidia, Diffidentia, Incredibilitas*, ἀπιστῶ *diffido, non credo*, καταπιστεύω[2] *confido*, the like signification doth Scapula giue, and Melancthon, Chemnitius, and others haue gathered sundry places out of prophane authors to his purpose, out of Phocylides, Demosthenes, Theognis, Sophocles, Æschines, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, which I forbeare to set downe. The Scriptures them selves giue the like force to these wordes, the fayth of the centurion, Math. 8. 10, so grèat as Christ our Lord had not found in Israel, was trust. So of those that brought to him the sicke of the palsie, of her that had the bloody issue, whose fayth saved her, of the Syrophenician to whom he said 'O woman great is thy faith.' It was the fayth of God (trust in God which Christ required in the Apostles, and would raise in them by the example of the withering figtree when he had cursed it; which he missed in them, when in the storme he said, 'where is your fayth?' It was lacke of confidence in Peter that he blames vnder the name of litle fayth, and in the rest of the Apostles also: upon which place Erasmus—*magis gaudebat exiguæ fiduciæ quam modicæ fidei, sive, ut nos vertimus, parum fidentes.*

Chap. 9 22. c. 1 31. Mar. 9. Lu, 8. Mat. 8. C. 6. 3 and 16.

[1] This note is written across the page in the margin. "which you call the tenet of the Lutherans and of some papists, yours which I might say also is the tenent of Bellar, and of all papists: but let us abstaine from aggravating either opinion from the conceipt of the names of such as follow them."

[2] This word does not occur in the N.T.

The verbe πιστεύω also hath the like force of trust: as Jesus committed not or betrusted not himselfe to some that beleeved, the same word is twice put, so Luc. 16. 11, who shall betrust ye with the true wealth? So St Paul 'I know whom I haue beleeved and I am perswaded that he is able to keepe the thing that I haue committed to him against that day,' where the word beleeved answers the like phrase of credere for trusting in the Latine as in that place of the Comedy, *tuæ fidei credidi aurum*[1], sayth the Covetous old man, when he had hidden his pot of gold in the Temple of Fides, and after when he caried it into the wood, certum est. *Silvano potius credam quam Fidei*[2]. And of this kind of trust committed, the ancient true and proper name of the action was *fiducia*, as Budeus shewes in his notes to the Pandects ad. 1 *post de origine juris.*

The like notion is easy to discerne in the word ἀπιστία as Mar. 9. 19, 24 and Mat. 17. 20, where the lack of confidence both in the father of the possessed chield and in the Apostles is blamed; whereupon perhaps came the request mentioned, Luc. 17. 6, 'Lord increase our fayth,' which Jansenius expounds well: *Appone nobis fidem vel fiduciam quam toties commendarat*, as appeares by the like wordes, if ye had fayth like a graine of mustard and in other places. But that which is most considerable in this matter is the forme of beleefe and beleeving in, or vpon, which the Holy Ghost useth in the N.T. Gal. 3, 26, Acts 20. 21; 24. 24; 26. 18 (where Christ himselfe speakes personally, πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ), according to which the fayth of Jesus Christ must be taken (Rom. 3. 22 and 3. 26, Gal. 2. 16); in the blood of Christ (Rom. 3. 25); 'The fayth of the son of God, who gaue himselfe for me,' Gal. 2. 20, 3. 22, and Eph. 3. 12, 'we haue boldnes and accesse by the fayth of him': so cap. 6, 'the sheild of fayth to quench the firey dartes of the Devill.' Abrahams fayth was trust in God, notwithstanding the impotency of his old age and Sarah's wombe, Rom. 4. 20. So Phil. 3. 9, 'the righteousnes by the fayth of Christ,' declared to be of God; 'grounded upon fayth,' Col. 1. 23. So the verb πιστεύω with the preposition ἐπὶ as Rom. 4, 5, ὅτι ἐπιποίθεισαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Dan. 3. 28, ὅτι ἐπίστευσεν ἐν τῷ θεῷ αὐτῷ, cap. 6, 23. There is a notable place, 2 Kings 18. 20, where besides confidence, and staying vpon as upon a staffe, trust is put to express the act of King Hezekiah emboldning him to refuse to be subiect to the King of Babell. Therupon we haue there 6 tymes the same worde, πεποιθώς, the Heb. בטח. Sperare in Deo, non sperare in Baalim 2 Chron. 3.18: quod sperasset (ἐξεζήτησε) in Domino Deo, 2 Chron. 17. 4: *Credite* (ἐμπιστεύσατε) *in Domino Deo* vero et securi eritis, 2 Chr. 20. 20, *Credite* (ἐμπιστεύσατε) *prophetis eius et prosperabimini* האמינו בי׳ ei sit in 2do membro[3].

Will. Kilmoren et Ar.

[1] Plaut. *Aul.* 4. 2. 8. [2] *Ib.* 4. 4. 20.

[3] The first of these references is wrong (? 2 Chron. 13. 18 or 14. 11).

XL.

3rd Letter to the Bishop of Derry.

Right Reverend Father in God my Honourable good Lord.

By your Large letters received by Mr Price, I easily perceive the largenes of your loue, that would spend so much paines, and borrow so much tyme from your more weighty studies, to endeavour to giue me satisfaction in the point of Justifieing Fayth. And yet more liberally in the closing up of your letters do offer your selfe, if yet you haue not given it, after you haue finished some present worke which you haue in hand, to putt yourselfe to further paines to procure it. For both I can but restore humble thankes and desire of God, the most liberall requiter and rewarder, to restore you that time with multiplied interest and requite your paines with all happy successe in the worke you haue in hand, and in all other your laboures in his Church. But the more liberall you are the more it concernes me to be sparing of your paines and tyme, lest I be not only troublesome to you, but injourious to the publick by distracting you from more profitable employments. And for my finding as I do in this new calling such a multiplicity of busines, as it were conspiring against me on every side. I see how much it concernes me to take the Apostle's counsell, to study to be quiet and to do mine owne busines. Especially the difference betweene your Lordship and me, being rather in termes and manner of teaching than in the matter it selfe. As whether Justifieing Fayth be an assent bringing forth affiance as a necessary fruite and consequence, or in affiance presupposing assent, as a necessary seede roote and Antecedent. In this case so long as we both teach that both are to be had to Justification, what importes it to the edification of the hearers in which the reason of Justification be chiefly placed? So as it seemes to me that this matter falls within the precept of the Apostle, μὴ λογομαχεῖν εἰς οὐδὲν χρήσιμον, or that other of avoiding unlearned questions, which do but gender strifes. In which very wordes he seemes to medle with these colourable motives which do often prick men forward to contention, viz. the affecting the opinion of wisdome and learning, shewing them indeede these questions are foolish and unlearned which hinder loue and peace with them that out of a pure hart call upon the name of the Lord, which is the deepest point of all our Christian wisdome and learning. In these regards I haue resolved to lay my hand upon my mouth and for the present to reflect only upon that passage of your Lordship's letter where you answer as it were in merriment to an argument which you framed also out of my letter in merriment *a re judicata*, viz. that I and Dr Ward 30 yeares agoe having examined your opinion had resolved differently, this I never wrote nor meant, that we examined your Lordships opinion. But that about Justifieing fayth, while

we were both young divines in Cambridge, we had much enquiry and resolved differently from what is I now perceive to be your opinion [whether it were that which the Romanists call Catholick fayth, or Speciall fayth, or which we then resolved, affiance in Christ the Redeemer]. As for your Lordships opinion what then it was, to my remembrance, I never heard, not till within these few yeares that Dr Ward told me, that you placed fayth in the understanding and made it to be assent, from which indeede we did then resolve differently, as I wrote in my first letter.

But so farre was I from prescribing against your Lordships opinion *a re judicata*, as I do verily thinck your authority alone would very much haue mooved me, had I knowne it to be well advised ere I embraced that other (with which I haue now dwelt these 30 yeares) such respect haue I alwayes had to your name; and even yet also (because the mariage of the understanding and opinion can never passe *in rem judicatam* to the prejudice of truth) I am not so wedded to mine owne that I should not giue place to yours if it appeare to be the truth. Thus much I thought it necessary to signify to your Lordship presently, touching that misconceived argument. Desiring you thus to judge of me, that I remember very well mine owne lowly place at your feete when you had the honour of the Logicke chaire in Cambridge. I know and acknowledge in all humble and sober sadnes the advantage of riper yeares and riper judgment also which your Lordship hath (and ever will haue) of me, no way decayed but rather authorized with age, not languishing and mouldy through want of employment, but alwayes active and bringing forth something for the common good. And because your Lordship now writeth that you haue prooved your affection by evident testimonies and undeniable arguments I shall attend the coming forth of your booke, which I could not at Dublin otherwise then cursorily peruse, hoping therein to find more full satisfaction than I could at the first reading, meane while with all humble thanckfullnes for your Lordships paines and pacience with me, I rest

Your Lordships very loving Brother
and servant in Christ Jesu,
Will. Kilmoren and Ardachen.

Kilmore
Oct. 11, 1630.

To the Right Reverend Father in God
my Honourable good Lord and Brother George
Bishop of London Derry giue
these.

XLI.

To the Bishop of London (Laud), as to the Bishop of Kilmore's Chancellor Mr Allan Cooke. State Papers, Ireland; August 10, 1630.

Right Reverend Father my Honourable good Lord.

With my humble service remembered, since my last to your Lordship of the 1st of Aprill, I have set on foote my suite at your Counsell bord for the rights of my Bishopricks; fownding it on that beneficiall clause of his Majesties gracious letters, wherein he was pleased to give order that if I fownd myselfe wronged by any unlawfull act of my Predecessors either in the profitts or jurisdictions of my Bishopricks, I might be releeved there. I propownded first my jurisdiction, empayred by my Predecessors appointing me a Chancellor. Wherein, before I relate my successe, I shall declare to your Lordship the grownds and maner of my proceeding, whereby I shall with one labour endeavour to satisfy some part of your expectation from me, viz. to certifie you of such occurrents as concerne the Church of Ireland, and free myselfe from the false imputations of slanderous toungs who there perhaps as well as here have or shall misreport my proceedings.

My Lord, I do thus account that amongst all the impediments to the worke of God amongst us, there is not any greater then the abuse of Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction. This is the opinion of the most godly judicious and learned men that I have knowne. And the demonstration thereof is plaine. The people pierce not into the inward and true reasons of things; they are sensible in the purse. And that religion that makes men that professe it, and shewes them to be, despisers of the world, and so farre from encroaching upon others in matter of base gaine as rather to part with their owne, they magnifye. This bred the admiration of the Primitive Christians, contrary causes must needs bring forth contrary effects. Wherefore let us preach never so painefully, and live never so piously ourselves, so long as the officers in our Courtes do prey upon the people, they account us no better then publicanes. And so much the more deservedly, because we are called spirituall men and reformed Christians. In this kinde there hath beene they say wonderfull abuse in this kingdome. While I was in Dublin, before my Consecration, I understood by many principall men both of my Diocese and others that of all those that have exercised Ecclesisticall Jurisdiction in this land, these late yeares, the most noted man and most cried out upon was one Mr Alane Cooke, Chancellor to my Predecessor. Insomuch as he had beene questioned in the Starre chamber, and rather by error in proceeding for the manner or some other cause than the want of matter, escaped the triall. Among the Irish he hath gotten the nick-name of Pouke[1]. And indeed they feare him like the fiend of hell. To his

[1] *Puck*, Gothic and Icelandic for goblin, fiend: from Scandinavian *pûki*, 'a boy.'

austerity the abandoning the Country by above 1000 of the inhabitants the last yeare[1] was more imputed than to the hardnes of the tymes. And a principall man of his Majesties Counsell sayd it within these 2 monethes to me, that he had beene more burthensome to that part of the Country, than the contribution to the Soldiers. This man, as was told me by others, had a Commission to be my Chancellor: himselfe would not so much as shew it me, or desire that with my good leave he might hold it. Which although it seemed to me somewhat uncivill, yet I was not willing to breake with him or infringe the Acts of my Predecessor, till by the dayly complaint of my neighbors, and some of my Tenants, and of the clergy I was enforced to demand the sight of his Patent. I fownd a vast heape of authority conferred upon him, without due forme, latine, or common sense. One period before the '*Habendum*,' consisting of above 540 words, and yet without any one importing a grant, or any other principall verb at all. Nothing left to the Bishop but a meere shaddow of authority. I called the chapter, examined whether they confirmed it or no, which they denied not, accounting it more concerned the Bishop than them, acknowledging that the Bishop's great seale was not put to it: whereupon I accounting it void or surreptitious, or revoking it in case it had any validity, did inhibit Mr Cooke to do anything by vertue of it as my vicar, and the clergy to assist him therein. Upon this he appealed to my Lord Primates Court, from whence I was inhibited and cited to appeare to answer him. He being in the citation styled vicar of the Courts of Kilmore and Ardagh lawfully established; For this so apparent a forejudgeing the cause, ere it was heard, I entered a Recusation before a publick Notary, which I sent to my Lord Primate: yet submitting the cause to his owne censure, *omni appellatione remotâ*, if my adversary were so pleased. This he refused. Thus did it hang till Hilary Terme. In the meane season, I went about my Dioces myselfe, and sate in myne owne Courtes redressing the disorders, and mitigating the Fees (whereof yet I tooke no peny but sequestred them only) and in a short space have as I hope disposed the people to some better opinion of our religion and jurisdiction, than before they had conceived.

The case at Dublin was divided in pleading by my Counsaile. 1. That no Bishop may grant a Commission longer then during his owne tyme. 2. That my Predecessor holding 2 Bishopricks, united only for terme of life, could make no greater estate then his owne. That by his death the Bishopricks were againe divided, and anew united by his majesty, so as in them I am not his successor. The other part would make a vicar Generall a standing office, and sayd the Deane and Chapter anciently might choose a Bishop, much more then confirme a Bishop's vicar for life. Especially they urged Precedents in England, and some here. The Lord Chancellor seemed unwilling to have this case determined here, which he sayd was never yet adjudged in England. Those of the Counsayle that are of the profession of the Law required it might be argued againe at the beginning of Michaelmas Terme, which was granted.

[1] See p. 297.

Since that Mr Cooke hath procured me to be cited againe to the Lord Primates Court, where I appeared July 29, alledgeing that the cause is depending before the Lords Justices and Counsell, and refusing againe the Chancelor Mr George Synge to be either Judge or Assistant therein; as having beene Mr Cooke's Master and Patrone, and now his familiar freend, and having discovered some spleene against me in certaine letters which since this cause came into that court he had sent me.

Your Lordship hath here the historicall part of this busines, whereto if I shall be bold to add the Prognosticall, it is this. That although I have his Majesties Patents as large for me as I can desire; the Canon law as cleare as the sunne (whose maximes are these, *vicarius perdit Jurisdictionem morte Episcopi: vicarius removeri potest ad libitum Episcopi, etiamsi sit constitutus cum juramento de non revocando: vicarius mortuo Episcopo non potest perficere causas inchoatas vivo Episcopo*). And de facto Mr Cooke after the death of my Predecessor tooke a new Commission from the Lord Primate to execute the Jurisdiction *sede vacante*; lastly though I have the common law æquall, if this be but a Commission, and as the Lord Cheefe Baron sayd openly, by the Law one Judge cannot appoint another in his steede: yet because in lands and possessions the grant of the Bishop with consent of Deane and Chapter is good, it will be carried so here also. I consider my Adversaryes cunning, potency, freinds in all Courts, purse. The Kings Sergeant and Attorney are for him, against his Majesties Patents. The Lord Chancellor had some tymes a like Commission bestowed upon him by his uncle, as I have beene told by some of the Counsaile. He perswades me to compownd with Mr Cooke, which for the incredible scandall that would follow I can never doe[1]. He (as Mr Cooke in a maner boasting told me) hath nominated him since the Terme to be Judge in a cause of the Admiralty touching a Prize here taken. Add to all these, the confidence of the man that comes and sets himselfe by me, and quarrells with me in mine owne Court, and will sit there and aske me no leave. In these respects I give it gone, unlesse it would please his Majesty to interpret his owne meaning in his gracious letters for me, and the Patents thereupon fownded; or to signifie his expresse pleasure that this cause may be maturely discussed according to his lawes, notwithstanding any examples there or here inuring[1]; or lastly to give order to his learned Counsell, to see to the interest of his Crowne in upholding his Grants and Patents, and by what warrant they are infringed by the pretended Patents of others.

My Lord if this were mine owne particular case alone I should not be so bold as to request your favour and assistance hereunto. But it is the common interest of Bishops, who through their owne sufferance do now but serve for cyphers to make up the wronges and extortions of their officers. They begin to scorne to be our vicegerents. Two citations I have received from my Lord Primates Court, in the former whereof my pretended Chancellor is called vicarius *Curiae* Kilmorensis et Ardaghensis; in the other

[1] *inuring*, 'occurring.'

Diocessios. If they were as anciently constituted only *durante beneplacito*, they would know themselves. For my part God is my witnes that if I thought I could be excused in conscience for the misgovernment of the people, whom God and his Majesty have comitted unto me, I could easily suffer Mr Cooke to exercise the Jurisdiction, though there be left me nothing but the name of it: but when the blame also and the shame of religion lies upon it, I hope good men will not account me Pragmaticall, if I be sensible, and desire to fulfill my profession made at my consecration, that I would be *gentle and mercifull for Christs sake to poore and needy people and such as be destitute of helpe.* These poore people (to whom to be put into the *Bishops Booke* as they call it hath beene worse then their imaginary Purgatory) do beseech your Lordship, and by you his Majesty, to pitty them. Religion intreates you to remoove this scandall; the church to reforme this disorder. I have sayd and done what I can. I leave the successe to God. To whose gracious protection I committ your Lordship and shall ever remaine

Your Lordships most obliged
Will. Kilmoren and
Ardaghen.

Kilmoren, Aug. 7, 1630.

To the Right Reverend Father
in God William Lord Bishop
of London my Honourable
good Lord deliver these.

XLII.

The Bishop of London (Laud) replying to the letter of the Bishop of Kilmore. State Papers, Ireland; Sept. 11, 1630.

Salutem in Christo. My very good Lord. I have read over your Lordships large letters, both the historicall and the prognosticall part. And truly my Lord I must needs acknowledge that there arises a great deal of hurt to ourselves, and scandall to our calling by the courses which our under officers take in our Courtes, and the harrowing of the poore people there. And I easily conceive, it must be worse with you than with us, because the State of that Church is somewhat more broken of the two. Your Lordship hath expressed a great deal of care, and a great deal of zeale to that part of the church with which God and the King hath trusted you, and not without a great deal of Judgment. But my Lord we live in Tymes in which the Church is overgrowne not only with Weeds within it, but with Trees and Bushes about it, which though they were sett at the first for a Fence yet, now they are growne up, they drop sowrly upon whatsoever is good in it.

And now my Lord to descend lower and nearer your buysines, you must first give me leave to tell you I see little hope of any remedy in the

thing and waye as you propose. For, if I mistake not, the question is whether (in that Church especially) it be fitt that Bishopps Chancellors or Vicars Generall should have or hold theyr offices by Pattent during lyfe, or stand only at the Bishop's pleasure, and as theyr merit and Justice in theyr Courtes shall deserve. And this being the question I shall promise your Lordship, soe soone as I come to London among my Bookes, to looke into the ancient Canons and Lawes of the Church, both those which you mention and others, but in the mean tyme desyre your Lordship to consider these Particulars following.

First the Canon Lawe hath been blasted in these Kingdomes, soe that any use taken up, of allmost any continuance, will be able to bear head against it. Secondly they answerd you truly, that told you this case had never yet been decided in England: or, if it were, the Over-ruling was that they should hold for lyfe, for soe the practise goes in all the Cathedralls of England. Thirdly whenever this question shall come on foot, whoever appears in it must looke that all the Civill Lawyers and all the Freinds they can make, which are many and great, will be sure to oppose it. And they will plead Reason, that where soe great a part of the burden of a Diocess lyes upon them, it will be fitt, if not necessary, they should be invested for tyme of lyfe. Fourthly I think now for many years together the practise through Christendome hath been (except in some few Exempts) that the Chancellors have held by Pattents for lyfe. Fiftly I would be peremptory against that hold, and all graunts of a Bishop longer then his owne lyfe, if I were sure all Bishopps were and would be such as they should. For otherwise the pressure of the people would be as great by a bad Bishop as by a bad Chancellor, and the scandall greater. Wheras now somtymes a good Chancellor moderates an ill Bishop, though at some other tyme a bad Chancellor troubles a good. Last of all, and which is most forceing amongst us, I doubt it will appear that Pattents for lyfe have been soe long graunted in both kingdomes that the common Lawe will make them good, doe you or I or any man else what we can. For to imagyne that all Bishops will agree to rectify such an abuse as is consequent upon these Pattents for lyfe, is mere buyldyng in the ayre.

For the particular person with whom you have to doe, Mr Alan Cooke, I never heard of him before, but it seems by your Letters he knowes very well how to licke his owne fingers. As for Mr Singe I think my Lord Primat (if I forget not one of his letters) hath had as harsh musick from him as another man hath had of his Chancellor; and therefore it is not very probable that your Lordship should fynde any more favour in his Court against Mr Cooke. And for the bringing of your cause to the Counsayle board, though I make noe doubt but you shall there fynde all honorable Justice with favour, yet I fear they will doe nothing in a buysines of this weyght, being alltogether without Example and Precedent here.

And for the Proposals towardes the end of your Letter which are three, without all or some of which you seem to give your cause gone, to deal openly and freely with you, I doe not yet see how they can releyve you. For first for his Majestyes interpretation of his owne meaning in his

gracious Letters for you, and the Pattents thereupon founded: you may be sure he will make noe other interpretation then may stand with his Lawes, neyther may I desyre more. For the second, for his Majesty to signify his express pleasure that this cause may be maturely discussed according to his Lawes notwithstanding any examples in eyther Kingdome, I doubt that the Common Lawe which upon a prohibition will be Judge, will upon never soe mature discussing make good theyr Pattents, unless you can infringe any by some particular Exceptions. And thirdly, though his Majesty should give order (as you desyre) to his Learned Counsayle never soe strictly to looke to the interest of his Crowne in upholding his Grauntes and Pattents etc., which were noe hard matter to obteyne as I conceyve, yet that would be to noe purpose if the Lawe be for theyr Pattents: for then they will easily make that Answer to his Majesty.

Now therefore upon the whole matter I have but these two things to say. The one is I doe not beleyve you will be able to doe any thing against Mr Cookes Pattent, unless you can fynde that it is drawn against Lawe: (and if he refuse to shew his Pattent, there is means enough I think in the ordinary waye to force him to it,) or unless you can legally prove that he hath carryed himself soe ill, as that he hath forfeyted the Pattent though rightly graunted. The other is mentioned by your self, and it is an offer made by the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, if I understand you right, that you should compound with Mr Cooke, to which you say you may by noe means yeeld for the infinite scandall that would followe upon it. Indeed it is true if you compound with him only to settle his Pattent, and take monye for that, and leave him to vex the People more till he hath made up his monye, it must needs be a very unworthy Act in you, and full of scandall. But if (where you cannot remedye it otherwise) you there compound, and in that Composition bynde up Mr Cooke, that the People may have justice and ease, I doe not yet see what ill is in that, or what scandall can followe upon it. For I shall not advyse the making of any other composition than that which shall be free from corruption on your part, and for the just and orderly setling of your Jurisdiction on his.

My Lord, my occasions are many and great, yet I have stolne tyme such as I could to give you Answere. The case never fell under eyther my studye or practick consideration, yet I have adventured to wryte freely unto you. You must pardone both the freedome and the weaknes, the case especially being such as a man cannot tell of whom to aske counsayle: For none can be asked but a Bishop or a Civillian. And if a Bishop be asked he is lykely to say for you, but if you aske a Civillian I am sure he will be for Mr Cooke. And where I now am I can meet with noe experienced man of eyther. In court hast therfore I leave you to the Grace of God and rest

Your Lordships very loving Freind
and Brother.

Fullham house
Septemb. 11,
1630.

XLIII.

Bp Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; falsely accused to the primate of a leaning to popery; questions about the efficacy of the Sacraments; Nov. 14, 1630.

[Tanner MS LXXI. f. 57.]

Salutem in Christo. I haue receiued (Good Mr Dr) 2 letters from you since my last to you, the one of May 28 the other of Sept. 11. In both I acknowledge your ancient loue, as also in a passage of your letters of May as I remember to my Lord Primate, with whom I was in the latter end of August. He asked me whether in my letters to you I had not made mention of the passages betweene us. I told him that I had signified to you with greefe that some had endeavoured to alienate his affection from me. Therevpon at my going to bed he shewed me your letters, and left them with me. The next morning we walked into the garden, and I told his Grace I could not sleepe till I had read your letters. Whereby he perceived how much I was bound to you. And the rest I would ascribe to your affection to me; one thing I was assured that you had written according to truth that I did *truly loue and honour his Grace*; which made me the more grieved at the losse of his good opinion. At this I could not refraine teares, which he perceiving sayd there was no cause I should be so grieved. That he did neuer thinck amisse of my intention ec. and with many good wordes confirmed his good opinion of me. I desired still as I had done before to know my accusation. It was in summe, that I seemed to come neare the Papists in certaine Instructions which I had given touching reading prayers in Irish, about the signe of the Crosse, and the presence of Christ in the Sacrament. My words for the former were, that *if at the saying the name of the Father and of the Sonne ec. any of the people did Crosse themselves, the Minister should tell them it was not amisse if they did so, provided they put no confidence in the signe but in him that died on the Crosse.* And touching the Sacrament that *Christ was truly present, not to the bread and wine, but the worthy receiuers.* For the first of which I referred my selfe to Mr Perkins Probleme, and for the 2d to Mr Calvine. He (who as it seemed had not seene my Paper) told me that himselfe had taught the presence of Christs body euen in the word *really*. We were soone of accord. I telling him that I had euer professed here, and in England and in Italy, that the differences betweene us and the Church (or Court rather) of Rome, were not in Fayth (which we had common) but in certaine additions forreine to it, which by corrupt custome were crept in, which he acknowledged: and fell into discourse of his Wansted Sermon, and how it pleased K. James. At which discourse in one place I smiled, and sayd, *This is not lawfull for me to say.* In conclusion he sayd those letters were written in his sicknes, and seemed to

put blame on these that were about him ec. The truth is, they were in answer to those, wherein I had inclosed a recusation of his Court (excepting his owne judgments), and his Chancellor perhaps was about him, who had beene Mr Cooke my pretended Chancellors Master. And (which I then suspected, and is now broken forth) *Mr Barnard his* Chaplain Deane of Kilmore, who carried my letters, and brought back the answer, had beene the informer against me. Whose malignity towards me grew because I would not give way that he should by my concurrence haue a 4th Benefice to three which he hath already: my Lord Primate making the motion at my Consecration. I answering, the people being meere Irish, I could not see how he could discharge the duty to them ec. For this, he hath borne me a grudge, and coming to my table, and using all outward signes of loue, hath (I beleeue) traduced me to his Lord. Lately he hath gotten the living, as in the lapse, and is presented to it (being of my collation) and instituted by the Prerogative Court, having (as I heare) compownded under hand with the former incumbent. At my visitation he opposed me openly with a Protestation, because I visited not (forsooth) the whole Diocesse at one meeting, but by Deaneryes. Lastly at our Quarter Sessions in a Sermon he aymed at me personally, in the Judgment of the most understanding of the auditory, for coming neare to Papists, countenanceing Sabbath breaking and swearing, because I acquited one brought into my Court for Sabbath breaking, who had bought skins on the Lords day at night by candle light; and did punish one 12*d.* for saying in my Court as I remember, *before God you do me wrong*; which I sayd I could not tell whether it were an oath or no. I was and am very glad that his secret malice hath broken out into open opposition. I referred the whole matter to my Lord Primate, who examined it, Nov. 5°, and enjoined him to make me amends. I required no other but the resignation of the living. But that he will not part from, alleging his charges about the procuring it; halfe whereof I offered to leave, conditionally that some Irishman who was able to discharge the Cure might be presented to it, euen a Convert Frier who is in my Lord Primates house, being a Gentleman of good byrth. *Sed venter non habet aures.* In all this I do perceiue the Deuils malice, seeking by all meanes to distract and disharten me in my endeauour to do my duty and the worke of God. But I hope, through the assistance of God, in vaine. For which purpose I still entreate the helpe of your Prayers.

I come now to that point of your letters, Concerning *the Efficiency of Baptisme in infants*, whereabout also I sawe what you wrote to my Lord Primate. But I shall now reflect only upon those to my selfe and touch the principall heads of them.

First you say *If sacraments* be meerely obsignatory, and the ablution of the *sinnes of Infants* in Baptisme only conditionall and expectative, of which *they haue no benefitt till they beleeue and repent*, then Infants baptized *dieing in infancy* haue no benefitt by Baptisme. This conse-

quence me thincks is not good. For they are by Baptisme receiued into the visible Church which is a notable Priviledge, of comfort to their Parents, and honour and profitt to them selves. Againe there is presently granted them an entrance into Covenant with God, as was anciently by Circumcision with the God of Abraham, wherein God promises pardon of sinne and life eternall upon their fayth and repentance, and in this they haue a *present right* though the accomplishment be differred. Yet if God take them out of the world while the condition is in expectation, *most pious it is to beleeue* that he takes the condition for performed. Like to him that solemnizeth a mariage with her to whom he was betrothed *sub conditione*. And sure if the soules of children be endued with any actual knowledge at all, *so soone as they leaue the body*, it seemes the mystery of Redemption by Christ is revealed unto them, and Fayth is giuen them, wherby they cleave to God by him, the author of their blessednes: although they haue no neede of the obsignation of the promise, whereof they are in present possession.

Your second reason. *Non-elect Infants* living shall thus haue no benefitt at all by Baptisme. I answer: Where there be divers ends of one thing, the deniall of one is not the deniall of the rest. These Non-elect Infants haue offered by God the same with the other, with the obsignation of the Covenant and aggregation to the Church. The same that he hath also, *qui fictus accedit vel ponit obicem gratiae*, as to the present possession of it. All that come to the Sacrament, elect or non elect, receiue the pardon of sinne originall and actuall, *Sacramentally*: and who soeuer performes the condition of the Covenant hath the fruition of that whereof before he had the *graunt under seale*. So as the Sacraments are not nuda et inefficacia signa on Gods part to the one or other.

Thirdly you say *What necessity of baptizing Infants*, if their baptisme produce no effect till they come to yeares of discretion? I answer: Though the most principall effect be not attained presently, the lesse principall are not to be refused. So children were circumcised, which could not understand the reason of it, and the same also did eate the Passeouer. And so did also children baptized in the Primitive Church communicate in the Lords Supper, which I know not why it should not be so still, de quo alias.

4. *Our Divines* (you say) *generally hold that* the Sacraments do offer and exhibitt the grace which they signifie, and in order of nature do first offer and exhibit *before* they assure and confirme. For

1. God doth offer and exhibitt Grace promised in the Sacraments.
2. We exercise our Fayth, resting vpon God promising and exhibiting.
3. So we receiue the Grace promised.
4. Then the Sacrament assures us of the Grace received.

And this order you endeavour to confirme out of the definition of a Sacrament in our Catechisme, you declare it in the Eucharist, and bring divers testimonies of our writers to proove it.

I answer: The Grace which the Sacraments conferre is of three sorts: The 1st the spirituall things which are proportionable to the outward: The

2d the effects of those: The 3d the certification of the party in the lawfull use of the outward part of the enjoying the 2 former. As in Baptisme, 1. The blood and Spirit of Christ, 2. the washing of sinne and new birth, 3. The obsignation to the party baptized, that by Christs blooud his sinnes are cleansed. The first of these is signified in that common sentence That Sacraments consist of 2 parts An outward signe and an inward invisible grace. The 2d is the most usuall and common notion of the word *Grace*, meaning some spirituall favour in order to salvation, promised in the New Covenant. The last is most properly the grace of *the Sacrament* itselfe. For the 2 former (which our catechisme seemes to reduce to one) are properly the grace of the Covenant, which God doth confirme and seale by the Sacrament. As when the Kings Majesty grants lands and tenements with certaine immunityes and privileges therunto appertaining, as in his letters Patents at large appeareth, and setts to the great seale; all the grants and articles in the Patent are confirmed thereby materialiter and subjectivè, but the ratification of the Patent is properly and formally that which the seale workes. Which also according to the forme of the Patent may be simple or conditional, present or ad diem, according as his Majesty is pleased.

As touching the termes also offering and exhibiting they may be taken two wayes. 1. Either of the offering and propounding (so doth Calvin take the word *exhibet*), in the Covenant or institution of the Sacraments, 2. Or of conferring in the use of them. These things thus premised, It seemes to me that the order is this:

Instit. l. 4. c. 17, § 10.

1. God doth offer his Covenant vnder the condition of fayth and Repentance and therein Christ and his benefitts.

2. We accept of the Covenant according to the tenor of it.

3. God doth offer to confirme it with Sacraments proportionall.

4. We receiue them, and so are certified of the performance of the Covenant and haue the promises thereof conveied by covenant and by seale also unto us.

Where you say in the Eucharist God doth first offer and exhibit growth and increase of grace, and a nearer and faster Communion with Christes body and blood and all the benefits flowing from thence, and then it is a pledge to assure vs thereof ec. It seemes to me that God, having in the New Testament (confirmed with Christs blood) offered unto us life, under the condition of our receiving him, would confirme to as many as receiue him that they haue life. Therefore he hath instituted bread and wine the meanes of naturall life in a certaine use to be seales of spirituall life. We now receiving them they are pledges vnto us and do certifie us of that spirituall life we haue by receiving Christ.

Where you say *that the instrumentall* conveyance of the Grace signified is as true an effect of a Sacrament as obsignation, and is pre-existent in order of nature unto it. I do conceiue that the setting of Christ and his benefits before us in the Gospell (the bread that came downe from heaven) and in the Institution of the Lords Supper in the proportionall creatures of bread and wine, with condition that these worthily received

shall conferre those benefits, must needs goe before any obsignation. But then our partaking of these creatures duly giveth unto us the possession of the former by way of obsignation, which in our purpose is the sole and only instrumentall conveiance which the Sacraments have.

You will aske what is the due participation? That which God requires. There can be required no more of Infants but the receiving of the outward washing in Baptisme. They cannot prooue themselves nor repent and beleeve. Very true. Haue they then that obsignation? Yes doubtlesse according to the forme of the Covenant. How is that? That repenting and beleeving their sinnes are washed away. Then because they do not yet repent and believe, nothing passes. Yes this passes, the confirmation that this Sacrament giues upon repentance and beliefe of all Gods promises of the N. Testament. The same thing which passes to him *qui fictus accedit.* Who when afterward he doth indeede repent of his fiction, and receiues Christ by fayth, hath also the actuall enjoying of the thing so confirmed to him.

The opinion of the Franciscanes out of Scotus and Bernard mentioned in the Councell of Trent, seemes to be the true opinion. For they make the Sacraments to be effectuall, because god gives them *effectus regulariter concomitantes*, and to containe grace no otherwise than as an effectual signe, and that grace is receiued by them as an investiture by a ring or staffe which is *obsignando.* Which agrees also with Catharine's opinion *de intentione Ministri.* And Eisingren[1] sayth that God only can giue to sensible signes vertue to conferre grace (Confess. c. 1.). Yet I beleeue they vnderstand the matter otherwise then I haue before expressed. Their opinion is of litle moment either way. Beza[2], Ursine[3], and Calvin haue no other meaning then I haue expressed. Mr Hooker I haue not.

Since infants (say you) *are capable* of Baptisme why not of spirituall ablution of originall guilt which is the thing signified though not of actuall *obsignation* of this, since they cannot interpose any impediments? Questionlesse they are partakers of the actuall obsignation of ablution from originall and actuall guilt (say I) suppose they understand not of this obsignation, nor receiue this ablution otherwise then Sacramentally. As I sayd before, the Counterfeyt convert also doth, though he put a barr to his present ablution of his sinnes, and consequently his owne certification therof.

Where I sayd the true definition of a Sacrament in genere will decide this question, which you grant, and commend it of our Catechisme. I do not disallow it, being well interpreted, but do thinck incomparably better that of the Apostle: That they be seales of the righteousness of fayth. Or if we will include the Sacraments of the state of Grace before the fall, They be seales of Gods Covenants concerning euerlasting happines. If yet more generally we will include the Rainbow, Gen. 9, They be

[1] W. Eisingren of Spire, in the second half of the 16th century.

[2] Beza (1519—1605).

[3] Zackarias Ursine of Breslau (a celebrated Calvinist), 1534—1583.

in 4ta Lent. dist. 1. q. 2.

seales of Gods Covenants. The definition of Sistus, *signum sensibile gratiam Dei vel ejus effectum gratuitum ex institutione divinâ efficaciter signans ordinatum ad salutem hominis viatoris*, me thincks is a good definition, especially declaring *efficaciter* as he doth, and *in hoc efficaciter* (sayth he) *includitur tam certitudinaliter quam prognosticè*. I know that he acknowledges no Sacrament *pro statu innocentiae*, but without all reason, and the definition will serve well enough for both states. Where he and the Schoolmen require since the fall some remedy for originall sinne, and I perceiued the same forme in that determination: *Certum esse Christum Sacramentum Baptismi instituisse in remedium originalis peccati et reatus ejusdem veram solutionem.* I conceiued you meant to make that the proper end and effect of Baptisme, which seemed also to be implied in the explication of the question in the first sentence, and after. *Cumque Baptismus potissimum institutus sit ad solatium originalis peccati*, &c. You know what it is to demonstrate specially of one sort of Triangles what is true of all, which made me a litle touch upon that point. But verily I thinck this conceit of Sacraments to make them medicines, is the roote of all errour in this matter, and that it is good to take light from the tree of life, and that of the knowledge of good and evill, that they are seales only to gods promises.

In my last to you, as I remember, I gaue you occasion a litle to consider the case of women under the law and of all mankind before circumcision. Methincks it is very inconvenient to say, that the males should have a remedy against sinne and the females none. And the Schoolemen when they will first lay downe their owne conceyt, that such a remedy there must be, and then divine what it must be, they make Bellarmine ridiculous, who from the silence of Holy Scripture herein labours to shew the Scriptures are insufficient and yet he cannot helpe us heère by any Tradition[1].

This inconvenience is well avoided, by making the Sacraments to conferre grace only by obsignation of Gods promises, and the end of them to be certioration. For so long as God would haue men rest upon his meere worde and promise without a seale, his word alone was to suffice, when he gaue a seale, that was to haue validity as farre as he extended it. Now he extended circumcision to all Abrahams seede, males and females, yea to the males and females of all that were adjoined to Abraham though but bought with his money, so as the circumcision of the males was an obsignation of Gods covenant to the females also. Lastly in the New Testament willing to make more ample demonstration of his love, and more abundantly to confirme the truth of his promises, he hath appointed both the obsignation of them, and seale common to both sexes and to euery severall person. Wherby he hath not made their condition worse who without contempt do want it, but theirs better which are partakers of it. Which I speake in regard of the imagined necessity of Baptisme to Infants to salvation, as if it were indeede a medecine to save life, where as it is only an assurance that Christ giues life.

[1] Bellarmine (1542—1621) *de Christo non Script.* c. 4.

Consider how Baptisme was giuen to them who had remis sinnes and the giftes of the Holy Ghost also before; who therefor haue no other intention therein, but certification only, and adjoi the Church: Act 10. 44.

Consider how it hath force about sinne not only going before following also, yea euen to them that at the tyme of the outward re it do *ponere obicem*: else such ought to be rebaptized.

Consider that if the Fayth of the Parents or the Church were ef before Circumcision was instituted, for the taking away originall sin Infants, or under the law for female children, it is no lesse effectuall present under the Gospell. And this, presupposing that some mean come betweene to make them partakers of Christ. Wherefore th meane yet standing, the effect of Baptisme needes not to be a justification or ablution from sinne, but testification to the receive he repents and beleeues that he is washed from sinne:

Consider that if you will averre that Baptisme washeth away otl than Sacramentally (that is obsignatorily) originall sinne; yet yo allow that maner of washing for future actuall sinnes. And you mus 2 sorts of Justification, one for children, another for adulti. And, passeth all the rest, you must finde some promise in Gods covenant w he binds himselfe to wash away sinne without fayth or repentan sanctification: for that all or any baptized infants in their infanc these I thinck you will not say. You seeme also to breake the ch the Apostle (Rom. 8. 30) "whom he hath justified he hath glorified."

Lastly, by this doctrine, you must also maintayne, that childı spiritually eate the flesh of Christ and drinck his blood, if they recei Eucharist, as for divers ages they did, and by the analogy of the Pas they may (perhaps ought) since they do not *ponere obicem contraria tationis et pravae operationis*. And sith the use of this Sacrament quoties must needes conferre grace, it seemes it were necessary to le communicate (and the oftener the better to the intent they mig stronger in grace) which opinion, though St Augustine and many m the Ancients do maintaine, I beleue you will not easily condescend And I as hardly, that children dieing without Baptisme are da Which if Baptisme be the remedy that takes away originall sinne, not how you can avoide.

I am sory that Arminianisme finds such favour in the Low Cou and amongst our selves, and glad that my Lord of Sarum (whom I loue and honour) came of so well in the buisines touching his Sermo

Touching the Propositions of Molina[1] opposed by the Domini and the letters of *Hippolytus de monte peloso*, I am glad you hau with them. For I sent you the originalls which P. Paulo gaue me occasion of speech with him touching that Controversy, reserving no to my selfe. The occasion was the contention of the Jesuites and D

[1] L. de Molina (1535—1600), *de Concordia Gratiae et liberi Arbitrii* Dominicans attacked it as savouring of Pelagianism.

cans before P. Clement the 8th. And these letters were week by week sent from Rome to Pre Paulo of the carriage of the buisines. When you finde a trusty messenger I desire you to send me them.

For the *Quodlibeticall questions*, there is no hast. I would joine with it another Tractate about the Valtelline set forth by Sir Robert Cotton in English, (as it is sayd at least) but I cannot yet get the Italian copy. I pray tell Mr Buck I wilbe answerable to him shortly for the coppyes of my Lord of Sarum's booke upon the Collossians[1], which at length I haue distracted and partly giuen away. Such bookes are not so vendible here. But the lectures you promise to put to the presse wilbe greedyly expected.

And now I come to your latter letter of Septem. 11 especially, as to the report of Dr Hoyle. The Lord is my witness I neuer thought, neuer spake (much lesse *pro concione*) that which he charged me with all: viz. that the difference betwixt the Church of Rome and us was *only in matter of Ceremony*, and I do thanck you that you haue giuen me your testimony to my Lord Primate in that behalfe. But I haue heretofore suffered at Dr Hoyles hand or toung rather (god forgiue him) undeservedly, all because there beeing maintayned in our chappell in my presence—and he being moderator of the disputation—very wicked, blasphemous, and scandalous assertions and he being silent at it, both in the course and end of the Disputation, I did according to my oath and with the consent of the fellowes censure it. And verily the question which he then allowed to be disputed of, if he had beene so discreete as all men wish he were, should not haue passed, viz. *Sancti in gloria sunt aequè puri atque ipse Christus*, but this was the best of 5 or 6 which he let passe. Thereupon the next *Disputation* I did shortly censure them and brought the Respondent *ad palinodiam*. Afterwards Dr Hoyle in a common place vpon that in the Revelation, "come out of her my people," laboured to shew the Church of Rome to be no true Church, and ran into the refutation of all the pointes of Arminianisme, useing the same forme that I had done in the censuring the former, viz. *It is false and erroneous* that, ec. After the place of the Provost being either voyd or to be voyded, he prayed publickly in his Church that God would send to the College a good head, no Arminian; no Italianated man, ec. I complained hereof to my Lord Primate, who I thinck spake to him his minde. But what he effected I know not. God knowes I am wronged. Touching my Lord Primate him selfe, he hath lately used me with all demonstration of loue, and written to me with this subscription; *Your owne Jac. Arm.*[2] I would entreate you in your next to thanck him and to assure him that [I] am satisfied of his good mind toward me which I desire him to hold *donec me gessero secus*. And for conclusion Good Mr Dr, I know I haue neede of that same prudence which you mention more now then euer, and withall of patience, having in this place suffered more than euer any where else, and of them

[1] John Davenant, Bp of Salisbury, 1621—1641.

[2] James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, 1624—1656.

most of all who are of myne owne profession. God grant me both, a keepe you with your wife and family as my selfe, who am and shalbe wh I am

Your true and faythfull freend
W. Kilmor & Ardaghen.

Dublyn,
Nov. 14. 1630.

Concerning that you write of Dr Masons report from Mr Cr[oft?] never heard word. The English * * * * * is now with r in Ireland when * * * * * uour. to accomodate as well as can * * * [the Chance]llor hath brought our cause into my Lo Primates Court, and hath libelled against me, that *I seeke to roote out the Professors of the Civill and Canon Law.* They have here setting o a booke in defence of that profession in answer to Sir John Davis prefa before his *reports of the Irish Cases*[1]: whereof yet I haue seene but sheets: a sorry thing it is like to be[2].

To my Reverend and very
loving freend Mr Dr Warde
Master of Sydney Colledge in Cambridge
deliver these.
Leave this letter at Mr Francis
Burnetts in Lombard-streete at the
signe of golden fleece.

XLIV.

To the Bishop of London (Laud).

[State Papers Ireland, December 1630.]

Right Reverend Father, my Honourable good Lord.

I have received your Lordships Letters inclosed in those of M Hamilton which after long errors as it seemeth came to my Registe hands, who sent me them hither this Terme. In every line of them I rea your wisdome and love to me. And in truth the declining the ordina way of the Pacquett I interpret as your favour, that would let me kn your minde without noise, and as tymely as might be. My Lord, I d begin to draw in myselfe even before I received your Letters. For havi beene cited againe to my Lord Primates Court, and received there infamous and calumnious Libell, whereto I have made my personall answ

[1] Sir John Davies, Kt. (1570—1626), Solicitor-General in Ireland, 1604 1607. *Reports of Cases in Law in the King's Courts in Ireland 2nd to 9th James*, Dubl. 1615. The first reports of Irish cases.

[2] The MS. of this postscript is torn.

upon mine oath, I did forbeare to presse for a heareing at the Counsayle bord this Terme, where I perceived well I should have no sentence. And if my Lord Primate be so pleased, he may decide the case by the canon Lawe. If he put it over to the Common Lawe I am advised to send the case into England and require the opinion of Lawiers of that profession, which I have done by Sir Thomas Jermyn. I did by my Lord Primate offer Mr Cooke the yeares profitts, which was rejected with great indignation. Your Lordship hath beene a true Prophett concerning your bringing all the Civilians and Canonists upon my topp, for Mr Cooke libelleth against me that I seeke to roote out all the professors of that learning. On the other side it is given out by some inconsiderate and appassionate people, that I incline to the Popish side and that I should say *pro concione* that we differ only in ceremonies. This is written to me from thence. Wherein God knowes I am wronged. Howsoever I shall endeavour to do what good I can, at least to do no evill, nor put impediments to Gods worke. My Lord I must not forgett your scant tyme, and more important occasions. Wherefore with only thankes for the continuance of the undeserved love, and that fruite of it your large and free letters, I humbly require the blessing of your praiers and do rest

Your Lordships loving Brother and
humble servant
Will. Kilmore and
Ardaghen.

Dublin December 6, 1630.

(Addressed) To the right Reverend Father
in God my verie good Lord
and Brother the Lord Bishop
of London these.

XLV.

To the Bishop of London (Laud).

[State Papers Ireland, May 1631.]

(Indorsed) May 10, 1631.
The land of the Bishop of Ardagh lett in Fee farme to Robert O Ferrell, &c.

Right Reverend Father my Honourable good Lord,

That which I heeretofore threatened, to be troublesome to your Lordship about the setling of the disjointed state of these two Bishopricks, which by your mediation his Majesty hath conferred upon me, I should not certainely so soone have taken in hand, if I had not beene urged by the present occasion. But this giving no respit, and enforceing me to have

recourse to your favour, I am bold to use it to the full, that I may not be often importunate. My present case is this. Lisagh O Ferrall sometime holding the place of the Bishop of the See of Ardagh (for he never had orders, as is acknowledged by his owne freends) granted in Fee ferme to the use of his naturall sonne Robert O Ferrall, the Castle of Glinne, and twelve cartrones of land, lieing hard by and in Ardagh, and being not only the corps but the verie soule of that See, insomuch as when he had done it, he boasted he had marred it for ever being a Bishoprick againe. The same lands were againe granted by Robert Draper his successor to Robert O Ferrall himselfe Anno 1608. My next Praedecessor Thomas questioned these grants; and might easily while the matter was fresh have overthrowne them. But he brought it to this agreement that Robert O Ferrall should surrender his Fee Fermes, and take a lease for 3 lives: for which agreement he gave also 43*li.* Thus it lay 17 yeares, and nether were the fee fermes surrendered nor the lease sealed. Since my comming to be Bishop, almost by miracle this agreement came to my knowledge, and the verie writing itselfe at length came to my hands. I brought the cause to the Counsell bord, and in Michaelmas terme had an Order (with the consent of Ferrall himselfe) that the former agreement should be performed. In the meanewhile that the cause was in suite, and after that Ferrall had condescended before witnesses to stand to the former agreement, one Sir Thomas Cary a kinsman of the late Lord Deputyes, and Master of the Chancery (the same man that would have gotten the Patent of the Advowsions of his Majesties gift in Ireland) came betweene as an enterloper, to deale with Ferrall for his interest. He tampered with me, assaieing to bring me to yeild, that the Fee Farmes might be continued still, with encrease of the rent, yea doubling it. He offered to build the Church &c. Or else he would have the 3 lives to be turned into a lease of 100 yeares. Or that there should be a grant of certaine yeares after the 3 lives, if it were but 21 yeares. At last, that I would give my consent under my hand that he should deale with it. I told him I was to hold me to my agreement which was the grownd of my suite. That I would have nothing to do more but confirme the Lease to Robert O Ferrall, for 3 such lives as he should name. And in conclusion he sayd that Robert O Ferrall and he were gone through, and he named the 3 lives, 2 of his owne children, and another. The first day of Hillary Terme when Ferrall ought by the Order to have given up his Fee fermes and make me an assurance, he came not, nor all that Terme after. He sayd he had sent them to Dublin. Now at my comming to this Towne he sayth he is ready to do as he was ordered: and hath indeede surrendered his Fee Fermes into the Clerke of the Counsells hands. But where he was also to make me a good estate free from all incomberances, there comes a servant of Sir Thomas Caries and shewes a lease of a 1000 yeares from Ferrall to his Master, also a release or surrender to me, provided that I should make the Lease for 3 lives of such persons as his Master did name &c. Sir Thomas himselfe is gone into England, and (as I was by good information advertised) to see if he can by any devise establish his Lease of a 1000 yeares, either by entitling

his Majesty or how else, I cannot imagine. Ferrall sayth, this Lease was but a Mortgage, and the money was brought to Sir Thomas at the day and was not received, but he was desired to keepe it in his hand still. As for Sir Thomas Caryes release or surrender, it cannot be good to me, who have no estate. And Ferrall cannot make me any estate free from incomberance, whiles that lease of 1000 yeares is in being. Your Lordship may by this narration see the reason I have to make hast, to implore his Majesties gracious favour, both for release of his title (though I know not of any in the world) and licence of having againe my land being alienated in fee from the church, a rent only of 4*li.* ster. reserved. With this occasion also I desire the renewing of the letters formerly granted to my Predecessor: and will by Gods helpe endeavour to establish Ardagh into a Bishoprick apart, as farre as the present matter will allowe. I meane by laying out the Lands and rights of it, recovering the Site of the Bishops house there, and building the church as I shalbe able. It is most true, that this might better be done by giving to this See a proper Bishop; and on that condition I will most willingly resigne it: neither do I know any man in the world so fitt for it as Mr Dr Richardson, who hath already the principallest benefice in that Dioces, and is a man of meanes, freends, and ability every way to wade through the suites which he must enter into. But because I know not how his intentions and affections stand hereunto, and me thincks I do undervalue him when I mention him to so meane a condition, and in the meane space something must be done, I humbly beseech your Lordship to procure his Majesties Letters in conformity with this Petition, which, whether this See remaine still in my charge or be recomended to him or any other, shall I hope availe to the good of the church, the furtherance of religion, and the glory of God: which be the ends I am assured your Lordship propounds to your selfe in all your actions[1].

Concluding I beseech God long to continue your Lordship a worthy and able instrument to worke to them; wherein is included your comfort, honour and happines. So I rest

Your Lordships loving
Brother and Servant in Christ
William Kilmore and
Ardaghen.

Dublin this 10th of May 1631.

To the Right Reverend
Father in God my Honourable
good Lord and Brother
William Lord Bishop of
London deliver these.

[1] Two documents referring to these transactions are printed in Appen. I., II.

XLVI.

Bp Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; remarks on Ward's "Readings"; difference between himself and his chancellor; miscellaneous matters; Feb. 17, 163½.

[Tanner MSS LXXI. f. 111.]

Salutem in Christo.

Good Mr Dr I haue receiued 2 large and wellcome letters from you, the one in August last, with the letters of Hippolytus de monte peloso, together with your answer to the observations that I wrote to you touching that point of *the efficacy of the Sacraments* yet (as you write) imperfect, by reason of the approaching Commencement. The other since Christmas, wherein was the good newes for the King of Swedens successe. I thanck you for them both, and have differred hitherto to answer, as hoping to receiue your compleate replication for which I will be beholding to you. In your readings where as you write you sustaine that Grace in conversion giveth not only posse but also τὸ velle, I would desire to know whether you make that τὸ velle all one thing with τὸ ἐνεργεῖν; or an act preceding it; and infallibly produced by grace and perfected; or, else, post inspirationem boni affectus, exspectet Divina gratia cooperationem voluntatis, saltem suspirantis et anhelantis ad τὸ ἐνεργεῖν. Let this τὸ ἐνεργεῖν be conceiued to be the first act of beleeving though I thinck the place [Philip. 2. 13] speake of subsequent obedience. Whether then doth Grace infallibly worke this *credere in Christo* by the inspiration of a full will so to do? Or else thus, (1) by shewing the necessity and excellency of Christ puts in a desire of him, (2) which the will of him that after truly beleeves, cherishes, and calles therupon ayd from God: like to the father in the Gospell, *Credo Domine, succurre incredulitati meae,* (3) and thereupon God giues τὸ credere, ec. Herein I desire to receiue your resolution. Touching your Quaere, whether the Church may not as lawfully enjoine to adore Christ at the holding up the Crucifix *in divinis* as at the name of Jesus: It seemes not, for the perill of Idolatry. For by how much more expresse the Image is and liker the prototype the more is the weake understanding in danger to dote vpon it. The name of Jesus is an Image I will not deny; but not so lively. But as it were no sinne if upon euery tyme the name of Jesus is named the minde and soule did adore him: no more if euery tyme the eie did see an Image of him, if there were no hazzard of surreption of the affection to the representation itselfe. You haue my opinion, let me also haue yours. Touching your feare of the Gout; it is a signe you grow rich. We here haue Spiders enough, what so euer you say of Ireland there; and howsoeuer they say here they be not venemous, I dare not warrant it. For my part if lack of exercise do bring the gout, I haue no feare of it, being almost perpetually in journies. The

Spiders in the meane while take their pleasure in my study amongst my bookes impunè.

Touching my Lord of Derry's opinion about Fayth. I am resolved for mine owne persuasion: and ere the booke came out I did signifie to him what I thought thereof. I haue too many irons in the fire to enter into a debate with him thereabout, and it is but a τεχνολογία wherein Fayth formally standes, so long as both *assent* and *affiance* are granted to be necessary.

I come to your 2nd letters where in first for the point of my Chancellor, it is not as you haue heard referred to Arbitrators, but to Delegates. I make account he will obtayne his place and cause. Gods will be done. Touching my sonne your Godsonne indeede I wrote so, *I will send him to you.* This Midsomer he is to take his degree of Bachelor of Arts, after which I shall resolve ether to send him presently or perhaps bring him the next yeare if we live so long. I shall haue then important occasion of coming into England about the greatest part of my estate, which I left there ingaged for my Sisters sonne to redeeme his land from a forfeyture, and reserve it for him till he should come to be of age. Touching Lincolniensis his propositions before Pope Innocent, I pray see what you can doe. I pray send me your answer of the animadversions upon your sermon. And desire Mr Buck to send me some Coppyes of the Quodlibeticall questions, for as yet I haue receiued none. At my comming away I receiued of him 12 Copies of my Lord of Sarisburyes readings vpon the Colossians. Which I endeavoured to sell whiles I was in the College, but could not. I haue giuen them away all save 2 and appointed aboue a yeare since that 3*li.* should be satisfied him for them, which I had a bond should be payd me in London for so much lent here out of my purse. But Mr Burnet nor Dr Despotine (who is now in London) could get the money. Notwithstanding I have written to Mr Burnet to pay him out of other money which I am to receiue of Dr Aylett sometyme your pupill there. There is an Appendix of the history of the interdict set forth in English in the end of a Sermon of Dr Potter at the Consecration of the Bp of Carlisl, which if I could get in Italian I would put in Latin, and add to the History. I pray desire Mr Buck to send me some Copies by Mr Burnet, and a note of them what they come to, and of all reckonings which I will discharge ad vltimum quadrantem. I haue not heard a long tyme from Mr Mawe. I pray write me whether he be yet in Cambridge or no. Thus in hast with my harty prayers for you (which I desire you would requite with the like) I recommend you to the grace of God with Mris Warde and all yours; and shall euer remaine

Your assured loving freed,
W. Kilmore and Ardaghen.

Dublin this 17th of
Febr. 1631.

My Lord Primate is now in towne, with whom I am almost a dayly guest, neither are we unmindfull of you. He is, God be thancked, in very good health.

XLVII.

Bp Bedell's letter to Dr Ward; continued opposition of his chancellor; recommends Mr Copinger for the vicarage of Preston; May 30, 1673.

[Tanner MSS LXXI. f. 189.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

I haue no better collour to lay vpon my long forbearance to write to you (Good Mr Dr) then the dayly expectation of the accomplishment of your promise touching your more large Vindication of your arguments of the Efficacy of Baptisme which you renewe still in your letters which I haue receiued; & in your last by my Lord of Ardagh. Wherein also you giue me hope of the advertisement what hath passed betweene you and the Deane of Cassells. I did thinck that the multitude of your occasions might be the reason that you deferred the performance thereof, and me thought it should be uncivill to call vpon you for it. Which made me more backward to write. But if this excuse will not serve me, I have another, that being to write as our old freendship and your desire requires, *how things stand with me*; and not being able to write what I would, or what you would willingly reade, I held it better to be silent: so should I neither grieve you nor offend any other. But this sullennesse must not endure allwayes: I do every day profitt (I hope) in the Schoole of Pacience, and learne to kisse the rod. For my affaires therefore, thus they are. After my cause betweene my Chancellor and me had received a deadly wound by the hand, that afterward would have cured it and could not, my adversary brought a Commission to certaine Delegates here out of England; who takeing compassion of the lingering death of it, cutt the throate of it at once, pronouncing both of the Appeale and principall cause (which they never heard) and condemned me in 100*li* charges; which yet they write my Chancellor had promised them never to require peny of, so he might enjoy my freendship and his place without interruption. I committed the cause to him that judgeth righteously: and since that medle not much with Jurisdiction, which before with some toyle of body and charge I exercised in diverse parts of my Diocesses, and with some ease to the people in the matter of their Fees, who now are retourned *in statu quo*. And because I fownd my suites for the rights of the Bishoprick of Ardagh had so cold successe, as in three yeares I could not get so much as a place where to set my foote in that Diocesse; although the leases were made contrary to an Act of State, and were upholden by forgery and perjury, for which I was enforced after a suite at the Counsell Table to begin anew in the Chancery and Castle chamber (which answers with us to the Starre chamber with you), I accounted it my best course to quitt that Bishoprick to Dr Richardson (who had the best living in it) and good freends, and an

able purse, to see if he might obtaine more right then I could. And to tell you the whole truth, I was loth myne owne example should serve for a pretext to the detestable practise of many of our Nation, who have gotten 4, 5, 6—8 benefices a piece and commonly Vicarages, and which is yet worse maintaine no Curates, unlesse it be sometymes one for 2 or 3 livings, by meanes whereof the Popish Clergy is double to us in number, and having the advantage of the toung, of the love of the people, of our extortions upon them, of the very inborne hatred of subdued people to their conquerors, they hold them still in blindnes and superstition, our selves being the cheefest impediments of the worke that we pretend to set forward. This was the chiefest reason of my resignation. And it is most true that I did write once or twice to my Lord of London in this purpose, occasioned so to do by this, that having by suite at the Counsell bord obtayned the reassuring to that Bishoprick of a Castle and 12 Cartrones[1] of Land (which was granted away in fee ferme for euer) upon the grant of a lease for 3 lives, one Sir Tho. Cary, a kinsman of the late Lord Deputy and Master of the Chancery, had like an interloper put himselfe betweene, and gotten a lease for a thousand yeares of the party, after that I had an order at the Counsell bord. Wherein my Lord of London shewed his zealous affection to defend the Church from spoile, and his favour to me: for he opposed Sir Tho. to his face in England, and procured me the Kings letters in such forme as I desired, and (though with great charge by the reason of the sending out a licence of Mortmaine) I assured that land againe to the Church.

Having got sealed to it this fruite, I resigned it[2], and since that tyme keepe here at Kilmore, studieing to be quiet and to do myne owne buisines, as the Apostle adviseth. It is true, that whether it be out of the sweetnes of ease after former travell, or my retourning *ad ingenium*, now that I am freed from enforcement to the contrary, I do litle or nothing in respect of what I threatned. And this lasines (which you know in me of old) you must take for one cause of my long silence to you. Touching the Proposition of Pacification in Germany, I did indeede write something to Sir Nath. Rich, occasioned by his sending to me a printed sheete of a Probleme to that purpose, which I doubt not but you have seene. And I required of Sir Nath. this only that he would conceale my name: for the rest making what use of it he would. I suppose he guessed by our inwardnes that he did not breake mine injunction in comunicating it with you, but I should have violated myne owne lawe if I had done it. The matter is of great importance, and when you were at Dort, I thinck I did write to you, to try if you might make any introduction to it. I am sure I spake with Deodati thereabout at Cambridge. And I was bold to write to my Lord of London about it. Who answered me verie worthily and Christianly, that he would employ his uttermost forces and endeavours thereto. I have received a letter from Mr Durce in this purpose, and I do

[1] A Cartrone is a quantity of some 60 to 80 acres, English.

[2] The Bishopric of Ardagh. See *Life*, pp. 52, 102.

not doubt but you haue better intelligence of the proceeding thereof than I. Here I will make bold to intreate you to bend your thoughts a litle this way; or rather not a litle, but earnestly, or wholly. For a better Proposition was not made in Christendome since you and I were borne. And one thing (in my poore opinion) we should abide, viz. to drive at too much exactnes in opining about the causes of difference of one man from another in Conversions; which may me thinckes be well left at that old stay, *Perditio tua ex te; salus ex me.* But this by the way. One other matter there is whereto, if I had your abillityes and formerly layd grownds, and opportunity of books, my fingers itch to be laying hand, which is, the ancient government of the Church and execution of Jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall; which in our tymes alas, especially in these parts, is no other then a meere nundination, serving to litle purpose but the oppression of Clergy and people. And albeit all good men cry out vpon it, and there be who lay the blame upon Bishops, yet for our lives we can not tell how to mend it. At my request thinck also hereupon. I remember that when I was at Venice I receiued a large letter from you about the ancient Codex Canonum, and once at Cambridge you shewed me the booke: and the Ecclesiasticall lawes made in King Edwards tyme (as I thinck) by vertue of an Act in King Henry 8 his dayes, that 32 persons should examine the Canon law and set downe what should stand and what should be cassed. I did not then much apply my minde to this thought, as litle thincking it would ever much concerne me more then to suffer with pacience some wrong. Now I do conceiue it imports me (if I may) to helpe to prohibit it to be done. To do any, by Gods grace, I hope never to consent.

I have beene mooved once or twise by my Lord Primate to set forth a part of my Conference with Mr Alablasters Proctor who vndertooke the oppugning my answer to his 4 Demands (it was as I since vnderstood one Paul Washington sometymes of Christs Coll.; and now calleth himselfe Paul Haris, the same that wrote the rayling libell against his Graces Wainsted Sermon[1], and hath beene the cheefe Opposer to the Regulars[2] here). The demande is why it should not be lawfull to pray to Saints. I haue forborne for these reasons to set it forth. The matter is stale, being performed almost 30 years since. Mr Alablaster returning to us againe[3], it should be in a sort a traducing of him. To sever that Tract from the rest were a kind of yeilding they had reason in the other three. To set forth all drawes vpon me a necessity of replieing to his rejoinder about the first Demand. Wherein there is nothing but words, and a Catalogue of all the bitter and uncivill speeches that he could finde and rake together betweene Lutherans and Calvinists. But that which

[1] See pp. 298, 317. A sermon preached by Ussher before James I.

[2] The Carmelite friars, who had ventured to establish themselves at Dublin on the accession of Charles in the belief that toleration of Catholics was to be granted. A furious outcry arose among the Protestant clergy, the house was seized, and the friars driven out.

[3] W. Alabaster of Hadleigh had become a Roman Catholic, and then rejoined the Protestants.

most of all mooues me (or rather holds me) I am purposed, with Gods assistance, to set forth the Bible in the Irish toung, which I haue procured to be translated, and am now causing to be written out faire. I should (by publick appearing in print against that Article wherein all here are so strongly perswaded) hinder that workes acceptation with many: who as I am assured would stand more indifferent, if not inclinable therto, for the opinion they have that I am a well wisher to their side, which conceit I had rather yet nourish. Therefore I am rather inclined to forbeare and prosecute that which I do conceive may be of more profitt. 1. the setting forth the Scriptures, wherto I purpose if God send me life to add some Homilies chosen out of the Fathers. And I have already Chrysost. 3d Hom. in Lazarum, and Cypriau on the Lords Prayer turned into Irish[1]. And I would entreate you as you meete with any of that kinde which might serve that turne, you would aduertise me: especially about Justification or Conversion of a sinner or preparation for Death, or any other importante point which you conceive is fully and shortly and popularly handled.

I haue thus shewed you how things stand with me heere. Vnlesse I shall ad, that I have incurred some blame for putting my hand to a Petition of the Gentlemen Freeholders and Ministers of the Country where I live; upon whom there being now about a yeare since imposed a contribution to the upholding the Army, and the Soldiers brought vpon them by a Popish Undersheriffe, they drew a letter to the then Lords Justices wherto they required my hand. I excused my selfe both by the matter; and forme being undutifull. But they urging me, I reformed it, and subscribed it. The summe was to desire them to forbeare to impose the Contribution till they should signifie to his Majesty those considerations which were annexed. The Lords Justices then being, and the Counsaile, did not Censure me or any of the Petitioners. But the now Lord Deputy since his comming hath at sundry tymes shewed his displeasure against me. And I have received letters from Mr Vicechamberlaine, and after from my Lord of Canterbury, wherby I am advertised that his Majesty is enformed that I opposed his service. I have made my defence both to the Lord Deputy and to his Grace of Cant., and shewed according to the truth, that I neyther opposed the upholding the Army, nor the forbearing to require the Recusants Fines, nor the applotting moneys upon all the subjects indifferently to that end (which were applotted and payd before our petition) but thought fitt to joine with the County to giue them content, being that very day to lay above 1000*li* upon them toward the repaire of their Churches, by vertue of his Majestys Commission to me and many of the principall of those directed. In truth I made no doubt but the Army would well enough be upholden, and by ioining with the countey I had them pliable to ioine with me for the Churches, and besides kept them in good termes for the forme of their petition, whereas in some other Countyes the petitioners were clapt up, and after sundry Moneths imprisonment bound over to answer the matter in the Castle Chamber.

[1] See *Life*, pp. 55—6, 131—135.

What the successe will be of my defence I know not, It availes yet or nothing here. For my part I am prepared *in omnem eventum.* I hope the wisdome and integrity of my Lord Deputy (who indeede made a very noble beginning of his government here[1]) is such, as howso he makes shew of a severe judge in my case, now he understands the bottome will not wrong innocency. I have not yet seene him: fo the first I abstained from his presence out of desire that he should sp some of his displeasure upon my name which he did upon all occas After there was a report spread of my death; which had almost b verified on Michaelmas day by my swounding at Church in tym prayers. Since which tyme I have beene for the most of this winter ci and troubled with a Catarrhe into my breast, joined with an Ague, so hath my wife also: although now God be praised we are both recovered. Touching my eldest sonne, your Godsonne, I do thanck very hartily for the kinde and freendly offer of entertayning him. W I shall perhaps accept. He hath beene hitherto as idle as his Father, I hope doth begin to fall to his studyes: and his yeares require it, bein complete. But if it be the will of God, I could wish that, as God brought me into this Country, so my children should be planted here, endeavour to open the eies of some part of this nation. For which pur I traine them up as I may, to understand the Irish toung. Yet the exp of a yeare or two in that University, especially vnder your eie would n improove them. And I do resolve hereafter if you continue there to them one after another as it were to travell thither, though *anim vertendi.* And now that I am at Cambridge with you, I must not fo our good Father Mr Dr Chaderton, nor Mr Dr Sancroft, the only besides your selfe that I had knowledge of whiles I lived there. I remember me most hartily to them both desiring them to remember n their prayers; the which office I do also binde my selfe to towards t and the dayly diminished number of my freends in England. God g us all that we may finish our course with joy, and when the will of shalbe, rest in his peace. To the which wish I ad no more: but wit respective rememberance to Mris Ward, do rest

Your most loving Brother
and constant freend
W. Kilmoren.

Kilmore Feb.
2° 163¾.

I send you here, that which a good while since I wrote in answ your last paper touching the Efficacy of Baptisme: which I did k by me exspecting your larger prosecution of this matter. I do it n put you to the trouble of further Replication in that argument. But which even now *sub styli acumine* comes to my minde) you tha so strong for the Efficacy of the Sacraments euen to those that under

[1] Wentworth (Strafford) who came as Lord Deputy in July, 1633.

not, how is it that you are not as resolute for the Efficacy of t
those that heare and understand it? But you seeme to make i
at the presence whereof God worketh Grace, but transcen
beyond the nature of the meane it selfe. Unlesse perhaps I m
opinion.

At my comming from Cambr. hither I received from Mr
Printer 12 Copies of my Lord of Sarisburies Prælections vpon
to the Coloss. to sell for him. Which I did endeavour th
I could to do: but the most of them I could not sell but gave th
sundry as I had occasion. I did agood while agoe make over to
Burnet 3*li.* for some of them and have lately given order for
I pray speake with him, and know if he have received the m
I never yet heard what he did with the Quodlibeticall Question
If he haue any Copies of the History of the Interdict and there be
of them, and the sayd Question, I will do my best to helpe h
of them. Mr Burnet wrote to me that he payd him the 3*li.* b
Welbore of Cambr. I pray certifie me if he be satisfied.

Mr Buck sent a many of the Quodlibeticall questions printed,
unto you. He receyved from him 4*li.*

Febr. 2, 163$\frac{3}{4}$.

XLVIII.

Bp Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; Oct. 11, 1635, c
Notice of William Bedell, his eldest son.

[Tanner MSS ccxc. f. [94] 95.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

Your last letters to me, good Mr Dr., I received at Dublin
at Supper with my Lord Primate in Parliament time, who li
parted to me some passages of yours to him: by which I perc
heaving at you, in respect of your Archdeaconry. I hope it
shew what might be done, and so to encline you to more depen
formerly, which when nothing is required prejudicial to the Tru
your wisdome will not stick at.

The business of the pacification how it proceeds, I doubt n
understand better then I, as being nearer to Mr Hartlieb from
have all our Intelligence here. Touching the Communication of
I am glad you hope so well to accomodate the parts. The objec
my answer to Harris, touching Christ understanding all the pr
are made to him in one instant, and presenting them to G
thought on heretofore, and as I remember about 30 years since
what Zanchius yeilds in that point which I could not approve. Y

it not be sufficient, that Christ appeareth in Heaven for us as our High Priest presenting the prayers of the Saints (mingled with the incense of his obedience) to the Father. Yet not understanding as man all prayers, all hearts, all estates, and circumstances of those that pray, but only such and so many as the divine nature doth impart to his humanity. For that he should *uno actu intueri omnia* and recommend the different prayers and deprecations of the Saints on Earth to the Father in so many Thousand varietys *uno actu*, it seems impossible to a finite Nature. That of Oral Manducation (otherwise than in a Sacrament) of the body of Christ is wonderfully hard to reconcile: in the unworthy especially. Some propositions may be agreed upon unto which preachers and Teachers may be confined. Touching the efficacy of Baptisme you indeed may give them content; but take heed you do not as much discontent our owne. In the point of free will and grace I conceive they must as you say hold that positive differencing one man from another is from special grace, but that in the Ministry of the Word, God giveth the outward sound onely to the Reprobate, without the Spirit, and the Spirit also to the elect I think they will not hold.

For the antient government of the Church, lamentable is the Mart of all Spiritual Things that is made by our decretalists; who have engrossed all Jurisdiction to themselves, and left to the Bishops and Ministery nothing but the name (to comply with their extortions) of Ecclesiasticall Government at this day. Of the books which you name I have not one, but only Balsamon upon Photian Nomocanon in the Bibliotheca Patrum. If you can help me to the Councells the best edition, I desire you so to do: or signifie to Dr Mawe at London where and how they may be had, with any other books of this Argument.

Concerning the Quodlibeticall Question I never yet saw one of them. If they had been delivered to Mr Burnet I think I should have received them. I am sory our Mother the University is troubled with such novell phantasies[1], But these things fall out *ut cernatur frumentorum gravitas et levitas palearum* as Vincentius Lerinensis speaks. I am right glad to hear of Dr Chaderton and Dr Sandcrofts welfare. Remember me to them both, and to Mrs Ward. Since my last to you, I have sent before my second and best beloved Son from the College at Dublin to a higher university as I hope. God bring me well to him. It was little after Christmass last, my self was then and afterwards very crasy and so was my wife, and still continues[2]. Your Godson I have conferred a Benefice upon, whereupon he is resident and I hope he will prove a good Minister, and an honest man. I pray give him some direction for the course of his studies, for I never yet knew how to study. You as being able in your

[1] Fuller (*Hist. of the University*, p. 232) says about this time 'it now became the general complaint that many in the University, both in Schools and pulpits, approached the opinions of the Church of Rome nearer than ever before.' He specially mentions the introduction of organs into chapels.

[2] John Bedell died at the end of 1634.

course can save him a great deal of time and paines which he else may loose with little profit. I would desire you to certifie me, how you stand with my Lord of Derry. I have forborne to enter into streighter termes with him (though having received some Courtesies from him) till I should hear more from you, especially because he seemed to some to overtopp my Lord primate here, although some think that was by direction from others.

Many more things I could write to you of touching our affairs in Convocation, but I was not there at the conclusion; and how things passed I doubt not but my Lord Primate hath certified you. I am constrayned here to break off, recommending you to the gracious protection of the highest I am and shall be while I am

Yours in all true affection
W. Kilmoren.

Kilmore Oct. 11, 1635.

Exd. To my very Reverend and Loving Friend
Mr Dr Ward Master of Sydney College
deliver these.

XLIX.

Bp Bedell to Dr Ward; literary and theological; Aug. 18, 1636.

[Tanner MS LXX. f. 96.]

Salutem in Christo.

Your letters sent to me by Mr Howlet, Good Mr Dr, were prevented by the newes of them: which my Lord of Derry sent me while Mr Howlet remayned with him. I thanck you for the Table of Codex Canonum and for that other advertisment touching my Lord of Derry. I shalbe very glad to have so good a neighbour as Mr Howlett, either to my selfe or your Godsonne, for their benefices confine, though in diverse Dioces. As touching the *Codex Canonum* I had read what Le Chassier writes in his Consultation to a Gentleman of Venice (which is amongst the Venetian writings in Italian) and begun to make a Table out of him of the titles of the Codex Canonum. Wherein some scruples I have, too long now to set downe. I hold that promise of Justellus and the rest, which you promise to send to Dr Mawe for me. Touching that you hold that the spirit is given with the word, so as there is no defect *ex parte gratiae divinae*, I am very glad, that we accord herein: for I have met with some who make the defect of concourse of the Spirit the proper reason of the lawe of conversion in those that haue the meanes. To whom I cannot assent. But if this be admitted, consider if it will not follow that if preventing grace *be common* and *alike*, God do not expect some exercise on the part of him that is called (whereto he is enabled by the *same* grace) whereupon he doth positively difference one man from another, leaving

those that are wanting to them selves, and to the grace received unc verted; and going on to convert and save the other, not for the merit their exercise and cooperation but because such is the order that himse hath appointed. *Verbum sapienti.* I write in exceeding great hast a purposely did confine my selfe to these streights of Paper that I mi not enlarge, yet I can scarce breake off. The Lord of his mercy perf the work that he hath begun in us and by us: and preserve us to his ev lasting Kingdome. Amen.

Your most affectionate and
loving Brother and freend
W. Kilmoren.

Kilmore 18 Aug.
1636.

Remember my harty salutations to Dr Chaderton and Dr Sancr and Mris Ward, to whom with your selfe my wife do hartyly recomm her selfe.

R: you take here for granted that preventing Grace is common a alike; whence it may seeme will follow, that God doth expect so exercise on the part of them that is called, wherupon he doth positiv difference himself from another. But I deny preventing Grace to b like to them which are converted, and those which remayne unconvert which I can no wayes admitt of: for it is most certayn, that he who converted infallibly receyveth greater grace than he who is not convert Neyther doth God expect any exercise on the part of them that are call wherupon he doth positively difference one man from another. But G doth by his greater Grace difference one man from another, not expect the concourse of his will which is converted, but effectually in it work the act of conversion, as it is defined agaynst Fansh * * Com. 4. Conc Aransic. 11. vid. lib. chart. LXI. p. 85.

L.

To Archbishop Laud.

[State Papers Ireland, September 1637.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

Most Reverend Father my honoured Lord and Brother.

I have beene long silent. I desire your Grace to impute it to cause rather then coldnes in my dutifull affection. In truth I have expected, according to your last, your thoughts about our Univer Patent and Satutes: and did not think it good maner to sollicit y remembring your employments and scantnes of tyme which your Lords also mentioned: and withall that possibly (nay likely) the gentlest c rection of my impertinencyes might be your silence. Meanewhile I h

with my great satisfaction seene those of the College and had the content to be present at the first publishing and putting them in execution. I wish and do hope that it shalbe healthfull and happy to this Church and Kingdome. I have also had my part in the gratulation and obligation to your Grace for his Majesties Letters in favour of my Lord of Ardagh and me, about our Leatrim landes[1]. I do hartily thanck your Grace for them; and for him, and that Bishoprick, which through his industry is now as good as this or better. And I wish the example of dissolving Pluralityes, both in Bishopricks and other Ecclesiasticall dignities and charges, may spread further. I was hartily glad to find your Graces judgment so expresse of the banefullnes of them to this Church.

My Lord Deputy since his comming hath endeavoured to put some remedie, both in the generall visitation by the viewing of Facultyes, and cassing such as were abusive; and at his going into England by his letters sent to the high Commissioners requiring them to proceed against non-residents. Accordingly certaine instructions and letters were sent to the severall Bishops of the Kingdome enjoining them to *call the Ministers to a setled Residency.* But when the disease is inveterate and the continuall causes thereof stronge rooted, *ipsa saepe remedia vertunt in morbum.* It may please your Grace to be informed of a case or two that have hapned in my Dioces. By vertue of these Letters, besides my Pastorall duty I called to residence amongst others of my clergy one Mr N. Barnard Deane of the rurall Deanery of Kilmore, vicar of the parishes of Kilmore and Ballintemple and Kildrofarten, Rector of Kedy; all of the Bishops collation. He was resident upon none of them all. But since my Lord Deputyes comming, takeing a new title of the Deanery from the King, without mention of the rest, he hath obtained a parrish Church in Drogheda called St Peters to be united to it propter tenuitatem. And yet his former livings are better worth then 300*li.* per annum. He was enjoyned Residence by a day. And having answered Interrogatories, upon his other witnesses being produced, fearing the successe would no more appeare, but hath resigned those livings into the Kings hands and exchanged with Dr Jones the Deane of Ardagh. By which meanes I am not only deprived of my right of collation but Institution also, and I feare my successors shalbe of the Patronage of them for ever. I did petition to my Lord Deputy to stay the seale till my right were shewed, and amongst other proofes shewed the Deanes owne oath acknowledging the benefices of Kilmore, Ballintemple, and Kedy were conferred upon him by my Predecessor, but it availed not.

The other case I must fetch a litle higher. And it is like one of those that Gratian is wont to faine that he may the more handsomely come to the questions he meanes to handle. But here shalbe nothing fained. Neither shall I neede to say Quidam Episcopus. Thomas my Predecessor having purchased a proportion of land in two parrishes, adjoining to the See of Kilmore (and one of the churches standing on the Bishops mensall

[1] See Appendix II.

land) did with the consent of the 3d part of the chapter grant double advousions of the vicarages of those parishes to John Greenham gent, his brother in lawe, in trust to the use of his owne wife and children. After his death the vicar also dies; and John Greenham presents unto one of them one Wm Bayly new made Deacon out of the Dioces, without letters dimissorie from me. But not willing to enter into suites of law, the young man being as I conceived of good hope, I admitted him with the oath of perpetuall and personall residence. Within one moneth he purchased, as it should seeme by false suggestion that the said vicarage was scarce sufficient to finde him foode and clothing (though it be worth 50*li.* per annum), a Dispensation to hold 2 more, so as they were within 30 myles, and so as he should be resident upon any one of the three. Then is he made Presbyter out of the Province and the tyme of ordination, without letters dimissorie of his Bishop, by the Bishop of Kilfanora, father in law to my freendly Chancellor Dr Allen Cooke, by whose counsaile all this matter was carried. Presently after he brings a Presentation to the 2nd vicarage but shewes nor mentions any Faculty, and refuses to resigne the former, whereupon he was not admitted. Mr George Synge Chancellor to the Lord Primate, and sometymes Dr Cookes Maister, was that year to visit the Province. To him he speeds him, and bringing a presentation from Mr Grenham as Patron, obtaines an Institution as from the Lord Primate; 'ad quem omnis et omnimoda jurisdictio spiritualis et Ecclesiastica quæ ad Episcopum Kilmoren ratione visitationis triennalis et Metropoliticae notorie dignoscitur pertinere,' these be his words. And yet this was the 14th of February, before any intimation of any visitation, which was not holden till September after. This Institution, with mandate ad inducendum to the Archdeacon, was to the Vicarage of Dun. But Mr Bayly never comes to the Archdeacon, but getts himselfe inducted by another into the vicarage of Dun. The Bishop sending for him admonished him of this intrusion and sundry tymes told him that for his unlawfull taking of Orders he was suspended ipso jure. After he puts himselfe into Protection of the Lord Primate (with this condition that after harvest he should resigne) to be his household Chaplaine. The tyme came he resigned not, and was rejected. Then he made a journey into England, where he was wont often to relate that he hath an uncle, of his Majesties bed chamber. And being still charitably admonished by his Bishop (yet not judicially) at last he appealed against him: which appeale was so powdered with false Latin, as any man might soone know the Cooke that dressed it. For example—*officium pastoralem—sententiam suspensionis protulistis et legistis, seu saltem legere* and *protulere comminatis* and the like. He had liberty to prosecute but did not. At the visitation being presented for Non Residence, and I called upon by the Lord Deputy as before, he answered to Interrogatories and acknowledged upon his oath in his personall answer that in two yeares he had not any house seate or chamber wherein he might be resident by the space of one moneth. The Bishop admonished him peremptorily to be resident upon his former benefice by a day certaine and to resigne the other. He did neither. The Bishop

deprived him of that he had intruded unto. He appealed: but prosecuted not before the Metropolitane, but brought an Instrument out of the Prerogative and faculty Court which they call a double quarrell: it was easy to trace his Counsell by the false Latin. But besides that there was a disloyall phrase in it, viz. vobis igitur conjunctim et divisim committimus firmiterque et stricte regio nostro nomine praecipendo mandamus, in the person of the Lord Primate, &c. The Bp petitioned to the Lord Deputye: and by his Lordships direction appeared under protestation, but refused to deliver the instrument unlesse his Lordship should so command. They let this processe fall. The 2nd tyme he is cited under the addition of *Episcopus Lismoren* instead of Kilmoren. That also was a matter of merryment. They send out a third citation: he came and refused their Jurisdiction. They demurre whether they would deferr to it or no. He was cited the 4th tyme, he deduceth the causes of his former Recusation in 24 Articles, offering to proove them before Arbiters or the President of that Court their Delegant. They fine him in 200*li.* As he was purposing to petition to the Lord Deputy, my Lord of Derry interposed himselfe, tooke up the matter, and decreed an Amnesty betweene us.

Your Grace hath not yet all: Mr Bayly by Petition to the Lord Deputy obtaynes, as in his Majesties disposing, the Living of one Mr Mortach King: the same man that hath translated the psalms into Irish first and after all the old Testament. The colour is that his wife is a Papist, and his children popishly educated. His wife at the tyme when I conferred the living upon him came to Church in my view sundry weekes; now is revolted and his greatest crosse: so unreasonable a woman, as I have often thought her possessed by a wicked spirit and set on by Sathan, to vexe him and disgrace his person, worke wherein I am sory to see Mr Bayly joine.

But touching that worke, whatsoever become of Mr King, I hope it shall not miscarry. God hath stirred up the Spirit of Sir George Ratcliffe to undertake the charge, which hath beene the only lett of printing it. I *humbly desire your Grace to take notice of Sir George* his noble offer, and to encourage him herein. To returne; your Grace hath in these 2 cases, quemadmodum datur to attempt to reforme non-residence: and by this, I know your wisdome will perceive a great deale more of the state of the Church here, which you required once to be informed of. Before I conclude, me thincks I should not do well either civilly or Christianly, if I should not congratulate with you about your spite and opposition of lewde gracelesse men, that make religion the maske of their malice. At least I cannot but rejoice to have had some part with you in the same kinde of suffering, and for the same cause. When I was a minister in Suffolke I placed the Communion Table in the upper end of my Chancell; and when I came to this Cathedrall, finding the Bishops seate erected in that place, I sayd at the first sight, Heere will I never sitt: and rendered for reason that it was the ancient place of the Altar, and how Archbishop Cranmer your Graces predecessor was traduced for sitting on a scaffold in Commission in such a place; which occasioned some to give out that I would pull downe the Bishops seate, to set up the high Altar, &c.

I beseech God to encourage and strengthen your Grace that you may holde on in a streight course through good report and evill; remembering that it is the Lord to whose judgment we stand or fall. So craving the blessing of your praiers, I rest

Your Graces loving Brother and Servant
W. Kilmoren.

Sept. 2°. 1637.

(Indorsed) Received Septemb. 20. 1637.
From mye L.B. of Killmore.

LI.

Laud's answer to preceding letter.

[State Papers Ireland, October 1637.]

I am very glad that yourselfe and my Lord of Ardagh have reapt any benefit thanks-worthy for your Leatrim Lands. As also that my Lord of Ardagh hath so well improoved his Bishoprick to make it almost as good as yours. And I wish as heartily as you, that there were a *dissolving* of Pluralityes, especially in Bishopricks. But as the tymes are, this cannot well be thought on, till the Meanes of the Church there be so settled, as that men may be able to lyve in some sort answerable to the dignity of theire calling. For Poverty drawes on contempt; and contempte makes Clergie-men unserviceable to God, the Church and the Common wealth. But as things shall grow better there (which I hope, and endeavour) I will, during the poore remaynder of my life, take the best care for it that I can. And I will not fayle to inable a Residence of the Clergie, and afterwards to require it, as far as lyes in mee. For I got my Lord Deputy at his being the last yeare in England, to write those letters you mention, concerning the severall Bishops calling theire Clergy to Residence. For His Majesty must never look to have superstition abated in that Kyngdome, till there be a more able and residing Clergy.

Your Lordship sayes, and truly, that in some Inveterate Dioceses the Remedyes doe often turne unto as bad or worse maladyes. But I conceave that to bee, either when the body is incurable, or the Remedyes mistaken or ill applyed: which later I hope is your case in Ireland. For God forbid that Church should be an Incurable Bodye. And this I see playnly by both the cases which you put to mee. Concerning both which, I will study the best Remedy I can; and if I finde any I'le apply it too. But this (I say) I see already, that some of your Church Officers which should helpe to remedy Abuses, doe both let them in and countenance them. And

I thinke in this your first fayre complaynt should be made to my Lord Primate of Armagh, who (I assure myselfe) will joyne with you for any fitting remedye. And I shall not fayle to joyne with you both so far as shall be thought fit to call in my assistance. And this is all, which at the present I shall say to your two cases, till I may get more tyme and leasure to looke better into them. For I assure your Lordship that this Summer I have known noe vacation.

LII.

To Archbishop Laud.

[State Papers Ireland, November 1638.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

Most Reverend Father, my honoured Lord and Brother,

My last to you were about a twelve moneth since by my sonne: who having licence of me to be absent only for 3 monthes, hath partly by occasions of buisines, and partly by reason of sicknes remained in England ever since. In those lettres I signified to your Grace, in a case or two in mine owne Dioces, the successe of the inhibition of Pluralities and Non residence here. While there are that can grant these, and there comes, *unus et item alter pretium pollicens, ut est ingenium omnium hominum, accipiunt conditionem*—yea they grant benefices not yet voide. As in the latter of the two cases that I reported to your Grace the last yeare. After that I had deprived Mr Bayly of the benefice into which he first intruded himselfe: and excommunicated him for his second intrusion into that of Mr King (the Translator of the Bible into Irish) when being admonished peremptorily he refused to quitt it. He petitioned against me to the Lord Deputy, and the matter was referred to my Lord of Derry. Before whom he alledged this title for his Majesty, that one John Patricks sometymes Instituted thereto, was not made Minister within a yeare: by meanes whereof the benefice fell in lapse, to the Archbishop first, and after to the Crowne. And although the sayd Patrickes were never questioned, and since his death the Church hath beene twise or thrice filled againe, yet for that Nullum tempus occurrit Regi, the Kings title which he had was good. To this I answered, that whatsoever his Majesty's title were (which I would not oppose or examine) he ought not to have intruded himselfe *by a super-institution* till the *Church were voided.* Accordingly my Lord of Derry did order that Mr King should enjoy the profitts of his Living for the tyme past, and Mr Bayly be left free to prosecute him where he pleased: and upon eviction or deprivation of him, should hold it peaceably for the tyme to come. And that I should not

collate any other Clerke or doe any further act to his prejudice, yet so as Mr Bayly should renew his titles to the Crowne within sixe monethes after the avoidance. Mr Bayly continueing still in his intrusion and excommunication calles Mr King into the High Commission Court, and prosecutes him criminally, as a man unlearned in Holy Scripture and divinity, not able to read praiers, neglecting his cure, not conforming his wife and children to the religion established, and in his hart affecting superstition more then ye truth &c. with many more like Articles such as malice can suggest. Mr King was at the begining of this information promoted against him, at his benefice in this Diocce, sick of the fluxe. There came a letter to him from the Lady Lambert then in Dublin, very earnestly requiring him to come to testifie his knowledge in a cause that much imported his sonne, the Lord Lambert now living in England, for that he had beene Agent and receiver of the rents of the old Lord Lambert. In great weaknes and with great danger he went to Dublin, where he was tampered withall by the sayd Mr Bayly, and a servant of the said Lady Lambert, and letters from herselfe, promising him a competent satisfaction, if he would resigne his Benefice. He weake in body and minde and purse, not having as he protested money to fee a Proctor or Advocate to speake for him was persuaded: and *sent a resignation to the High Commission Court.* Mr Bayly also drew a letter with his owne hand (which he caused Mr King to subscribe, and send to me) wherein he prayeth me to *obsolce him* (thus he writes the word thrice in 4 lines) that they might live in unity &c. I protested to Mr Bayly, that this transaction would be Simoniacall. And I still told Mr King that he would be beguiled. But he not making his defence was sentenced to be deprived, degraded and fined 100*li.* as I was informed. At my next comming to Dublin, I persuaded him to send his defence; he did not. When ye cause was called, I signified the whole processe was voide, being at the promotion of the despoyler, and he excommunicate. Where some hote words passed. I professed that I came to discharge my duty to God and his Majesty; without complieing with other mens wrongs, and held it my duty to informe that Court (whereof myselfe was a member) of the truth of the cause. The sentence was only yet pronounced not decreed to be executed, and I was glad I had discharged myne owne conscience. For before the next Court day I was necessarily to leave the Citty, having appointed certaine dayes and places for the expediting a Commission which I had procured for the Exchanging of the inconvenient Gleblande in my Dioces with some of those which by your Graces good meanes were to be assured to this Bishoprick. In my retorne homewards from this buisines upon the 23rd of June, I met upon the way Mr Bayly with a Countryman of his, the Archdeacon of Ardagh, who had newly inducted him into Mr King's benefice, and excused him to me that he did not purpose to offend me, but accounted himselfe bownd to obey my Lord Primates mandate &c. For this being the yeare of his visitation his Grace had given Institution to Mr Bayly with a mandate to any beneficed Presbyter in the Province, in the Archdeacons absence or refusall, to induct him. I wished it might be happy to Mr Bayly and all

that had a hand in it. Within a few dayes Mr King, being attached by a Pursivant to be carried to Dublin, came by me, and shewed how being sent for by Mr Bayly to a neighbors house, under colour to receive a Letter from the Lady Lambert, he had beene arrested and haled to horseback, not suffered to go to his owne house so much as to take linnen &c. He shewed me the letters of the Lady and other formerly received all cautelously written in generalityes. I accompanied him with a few lines to Sir George Ratcliffe, by whose meanes and by the Lord Dillons he was permitted upon suretyes to goe downe to his children in the Kings County to appeare the first Session this Terme. Not long after, Mris King his wife came to me, attended by a Constable as upon a warant of the peace. The cause as she related was; Mr Bayly with 4 other horsemen had driven away her Cowes from the Gleabe land, and in the bickering about them stricken her servants, left a mayd in that case that for 2 dayes she did neether eate nor drinck, and now one of his company had sworne the peace against her. This matter I could not deale with, having found the favour with my Lord Deputy not to be putt on the Commission of the peace. But the tyme being neare when the Lord Primates trienniall visitation was to take an end (which continued from February till September) I called a chapter of the Clergy, wherein this with some other buisines concerning the whole Diocesse might be considered. What passed there your Grace shall perceive by thinclosed herewith. By the consent of the whole company I decreed a Processe for Mr Bayly to answer Articles, which he did with much tergiversation and Æquivocation: yet so, as he could not deny his manifold contempts. For which as I was ready to pronownce the sentence of Excommunication against him, he produced a box with three instruments. One a Deprivation of Mr King by the High Commission dated 15° Junij. The second a Dispensation wherein being absolved from all censures, vel a jure vel ab homine inflictis vel infligendis, he hath faculty granted him to hold with his former benefice the vicarage of Templeport (that of Mr King) together with a third within the distance of 30 miles, with a clause of permutation, and to be resident upon which of them he pleased. This was dated 14° Junii before the benefice was voided. The 3rd was an Institution to Templeport (as upon the King's Mandate of presentation therein recited) bearing date 15° Junii, the same day in which Mr King was deprived, and there was indorsed on the back of the induction aforesayd by an Archdeacon of another Dioces. This Institution was from the Lord Primate in this stile. Jacobus miseratione divina Armachanus Archiepiscopus totius Hiberniae Primas et Metropolitanus ad quem omnis et omnimoda Jurisdictio spiritualis et Ecclesiastica quae ad Episcopum Kilmoren ratione visitationis nostrae triennialis et Metropoliticae jam pendentis notorie dignoscitur pertinere—Data 16° Junii. By which it may appeare this buisines was not slept in. I had no leisure to read over these Instruments, but perceiving the tenor of them, and *assuring myselfe they gave no faculty for future sinne*, I proceeded to sentence Oct. 3°. Upon the 9th day of the same as I was sitting at Table with the Sheriffe and Justices of the County, and amongst others *Dr Allan*

Cooke my pretended Vicar, the Architect of all the opposition that ever I have fownd since I came to be Bishop, Mr Bayly read an Appeale which he would not deliver to me, nor any coppy thereof. I told him I would deferr to it, and accordingly I wrote to my Lord Primate inclosing my sentence, and submitting the cause. I received at the next Court an Inhibition and Citation to appeare before him or his vicar at Drogheda. The next day as I was returning homeward Dr Cookes man shewes me another whereof he gave me no coppy. It was upon an Appeale from our Diocesan Synode against me and the Archdeacon: a coppy whereof I tooke at my being at Drogheda the 8th day of this moneth of September. I instantly required his Grace, that according to the canons, these causes might be heard in the Synode of the Province. At the leastwise that he would heare them himselfe in person. Which when he seemed resolved not to do, I entered a recusation of his vicar generall as Mr Cooke's familiar friend, and formerly recused in my suite with him; and who had 3 yeares since intruded Mr Bayly into a Church of my Collation, as I heeretofore certified your Grace. The next day, which was ye first Session of the High Commission Court, Mr King appeared and by his Petition presented to the Court the causes of his former not appearing: 1. His infirmity of body. 2. That he was informed he needed not appeare to the information of one that had despoiled him. 3. That Mr Bayly had by covenants and agreements with him induced him not to appeare, and in fine beguiled him. It was objected that where he pretended sicknes he could for all that follow a suite in Chancery. Mr King denied this. The matter was, he had beene examined before Dr Cooke in the cause of the Lord Lambert aforesaid. I prayed the Court to consider that in his disease of the fluxe he might well have so much respitt as to give a testimony and yet be inable to prosecute a suite in this Court touching his benefice: I related also that I had informed the Court that the promoter was a despoiler and excommunicated for his spoileing, and therefore the sentence since read for the execution of Mr King his deprivation, could be of no force. After many words nothing was done. The poore man yet remaines under arrest; so weake in body, and dejected in minde and empoverished in estate, as well by the want of the fruites of his living as his wifes continuall prolling[1] from him, as it is mervell he lives: Mr Bayly his adversary confidently affirmed to my Lord Primate (as before to me) that he was dead, and the truth is there hath wanted nothing on his part to effect it.

By this relation your Graces wisdome will perceive much more of the state of the Church here then I have delight to represent to you. It was the speech of one of our Reverend Colleagues in the high Commission to me this day, that looke how much we advance in meanes so much we go downe in maners. To retorne to my first purpose. What likelyhood is there of redresse in ye matter of Non-residence and Pluralityes whenas, if they were all now dissolved, we have a forge that can (and will for money) presently make as many more? Or how should it seeme unfitt that one

[1] To *proll* or *prol* is to *prowl* in the sense of 'to rob' (Fr. *proie*).

Clerke should have two or three vicarages of parochiall Churches, when as a lay man hath as many or more of Diocesan? as of Dublin, Clogher, Kilmore, Ardagh; and besides all these is officiall to the Archdeacoury of Dublin, Judge of the Admiralty, Master of the Chancery, principal Advocate of the high Commission Court, one of those of the Prerogative Court and Soveraigne of the Towne of Cavan. For this is the stile of the *Venerable and egregious man* Mr Dr Cooke, as he qualifieth himselfe in the inhibition under his owne hand which I saw at Droghedagh. What order or peace can be in the Church when we have *super-institutions* one after another practised plotted countenanced: Simoniacall collusions not detected but palliated? All Episcopall rights under collour of visitation for 6 or 7 moneths usurped every three yeares, and some of their owne Clergy set up to play the Bishops, while they serve for cyphers?

As for our *Presbyteriall Conventicle of Kilmore*, as it pleaseth my vicar to call it, I did never thinck that malice could have beene so bold, or ignorance so blind as to set tooth in it. Having besides Holy Scripture and the ancient use of the church, the continuall practise of the Churches in England, and here in Ireland. This meeting in the Dioces of Norwich where I lived we called *the Seine*. And the same word is used in the Statutes of this realme, in the 28. Hen. 8 Chap. 13, where Bishops are to inquire of such as uphold the authority of the Pope, in *their visitations and Seines*. And in the Statute of 2 Elizabeth for uniformity of common praier, they are to enquire of the breakers of that act in their *visitations and Synodes*. Yea in the Patent which my Vicar gat of my Predecessor there is this expresse reservation, *reservato itidem nobis et successoribus nostris jure deprivandi et ad Synodos convocandi*. And in the Inhibitions of the Archbishop of this Province, he or his officers rather as I conceive it (by what right I know not) forbid us during the tyme of his visitation *legem Diocesanam exercere*. Another matter it is, if we have made any decree or rule against Lawes divine or humane; which I hope our Dr cannot shew. How consonant our canons are to Antiquity, may appeare by those quotations which I have set under each of them since they have beene quarrelled[1].

And for conclusion I humblely represent it to your Graces judicious censure, whether the ancient practise of the Church since Christs tyme (howsoever of late interrupted by a few usurping Vicars) that Bishops with their Clergy should menage Ecclesiasticall affaires, whether I say this ought to take place or the new endeavour of arrogant Actuaryes, and their Clerkes (for such are those we have to deale with here) that oppressing the laity domineering over the ministry, do now seeke to pull downe their Prelates also, by dependency upon whome they have hitherto raised themselves. One thing more, whether of these is like to be the fitter expedient for the attayning of that uniformity in Church government in all these Dominions

[1] The Synod appears to have only met once, 17 Sept. 1638. The *decreta* are printed by Mr Wharton Jones in his *Life and Death of William Bedell* (Camden Society), pp. 162—168, with the authorities quoted by Bedell in support of each clause.

which his Majesty seemes to ayme at and all good men desire? I beseech your Grace to pardon this tedious scribling; and to account me still, your most bownden and affectionate

Servant in Christo Jesu
W. Kilmoren.

Dublin,
Nov. 12, 1638.

(Addressed) To the most Reverend Father in God
my ever honored Lord and
Brother William Lord Archbishop
of Canterbury Primate of All England.

(Indorsed) Rece. Decemb. 29, 1638.

LIII.

To Archbishop Laud on Episcopal Synods.

[State Papers Ireland, December 1638.]

Salutem in Christo.

Most Reverend Father my honoured Lord and Brother.

The fardell rather then Letter which I sent to your Grace at my comming up hither, was scarce a shipbord, when I received your Graces of the 30th of October 1637, by a speciall messenger from my sonne. Who being after the receipt thereof twise relapsed into his ague was advised by his Physician not to take his jorney till the Spring. I am very glad that your Grace doth not despaire of the recovery of our Ecclesiastique body, and will put your healthfull hand thereto. According to your discretion (as it fell out before I received it) I dealt verie earnestly with my Lord Primate at my being with him Nov. 7°, and had a large promise, that he would use his uttermost endeavour to remedy our disorders, and especially in the matter of Facultyes. He required me also to consider of other particulars. By my last, your Grace will more clearely see our estate, and prescribe what is fitt.

Touching Mr King, it fell out as I feared, that his worke would suffer with him. I have addressed myselfe to my Lord Deputy as you may *see by the inclosed*, which Sir George Radcliff undertooke to deliver. Your Grace shall thereby fully understand his case.

Concerning my bringing into the Castle chamber and Premunire for our Diocesan Synode, the bruite is much ceased, since men have a litle looked on their bookes. A Prelate of great note said to one of my Clergy here 'If we might hold a Diocesan Synode why not a Provinciall? and if that, why not a Nationall?' The argument indeede is a minore ad majus, but affirmative. Yet touching Provinciall Synodes; enjoined by the canons of the universall Church, allowed by the Lawes Imperiall, and those of other

Christian Countries, practised by your Grace's Predecessors in England, and by the Archbishops of this kingdome, yea (as I am informed) by the Popish titular Clergy here at this day, I cannot conceive what jealousy of state there should be against them, being sufficiently limited by the Act of Submission of the Clergy, and subordinated to the Crowne. And if there be any scruple in the law touching the assembling of Suffraganes by their Metropolitane, for causes merely Ecclesiasticall, his Majesty by his Roiall authority declaring his pleasure therein might (if in his high wisdome he should thinck fitt) take away all doubt, and restore the ancient Order of the Christian Church, and bring much ease to his Subjects, without neede of other extravagant courses. These conceptions I humbly submitt to your Graces mature judgment. To returne to Episcopall Synodes; among other things since I came to this place I have mett with a just Treatise De Synodo Episcopi. In that great worke of the Tractates of the Doctors, printed at Venice in 16 Tomes, it is Tome 2°. The Authors name is Henricus Botteus, he wrote as may appeare Part 3*a* No. 74 the yeare after Rome was sackt Anno 1527. Among others these are his Positions. That such a Synode *est de jure divino.* And *Papa non potest Episcopis auferre potestatem faciendi suas Synodos. Item Episcopus non debet petere licentiam ab Archiepiscopo pro congreganda sua Synodo. Synodus est praeparatorium ad visitationem, et quaedam visitatio generalis &c. Episcopus omittens convocare Synodum debet puniri suspensione* &c. And it is very likely that those that penned our late canons, or those from whom they were taken, had this in their mindes when they appointed that the constitutions lawfully enjoined by the Bishop of the Dioces in his visitation, should be observed &c. But I forget myselfe and your Graces many employments.

That I cannot forgett, humbly to thanck you for the care you expresse of me and this See in your Letters of the 20th of November touching my Lord Lambert and Mr Culmes leases. I have never forslowed a day to advance the meanes of this Bishoprick, though I have not had the like successe with others in this so favourable a tyme of my Lord Deputyes government. These 4 yeares I have had a suite at the counsaile bord about 2 leases made by my last Predecessor to the use of his wife and children, against the Proclamation in the tyme of King James, the Act of State touching Bishops Leases, and the Patent of the See. And these three points are expressely acknowledged to be so, in an Order of the bord of the 20th of February 1637, wherein it was referred to my Lord of Derry to certify which of the parcells were mensall, and which not. His Lordship fownd no tyme to do this till the 7th of June, and then did it so, as he shewed himselfe more than an Advocate to the other part. And when I shall get a conclusion in that buisines God knowes.

The leases of my Lord Lambert and Mr Culme were referred to my Lord of Derry. Touching the former, nothing could be done, no Agent of his appearing with plenary power to deale for him. Thereupon I was inforced to obtaine a Letter missive for him into England, which he would never be spoken withall to receive. Upon which I gat a rule that he

should send an Agent, otherwise the Board would proceede. Th
of his Agent was discussed. This Terme he hath answered, a
replied. Touching Mr Culmes lease my Lord of Derry set dow
in it, but so as he seemed desirous rather to accommodate other
See. For where certaine lands lieing by the Bishops mansion
parts of the Termon of Kilmore (both by the grand office and P
leased away as distinct Termons to the use of Bishop Drapers w
clerke, faine would I have had these at least reserved from a
extent of tyme. I could not obtaine it, yet neither have the T
payd me a peny of the increased Rent, nor tendered me an
renew. But that which hath peremptorily hindered the renewi
leases, and my passing also the Lands in Leitrim by Patent, fo
your Graces favour I obtayned his Majesties Letters, is this. Th
being called to Residence petitioned to the Lord Deputy, shewin
venience of their Glebelands, lieing sundry miles distant in oth
and desired that according to the directions of King James, ther
exchanges made with some part of the Termon lands, lieing
churches "And that till such exchanges were made, no leases of
lands within the Dioces should be confirmed to any of the Tena
Petition was referred to the Lord Primate; and the Bishop of
returned their opinions in favour thereof, concluding in these for
—"And whereas in the said countyes of Cavan and Fermana
the present Tenants may perhaps be obstinate to consent t
exchanges, we conceive that if upon the defects that are found t
grand leases, now tendered to be confirmed or renewed, there
made thereof, with a clause in the Commission to certify such
refractory to accept just recompence in the lands to be exch
impediment shalbe the more easily removed." How necessary
was, I have found in expediting these Commissions these 2 y
Which having now through Gods goodnes performed, ret
obtayned publication of, the 5th of this instant December, I will
the prosecution of the rights of this See with cheerefulnes. In
tyme, me thincks I am like the poore beast, that travelling in a
unbeaten way as fast as his leggs can carry him, is at once curb'
bitt, and put on with the spurres because he makes no more
beseech your Grace to pitty these plunges I am putt to, and t
partaker of your praiers who am,

Your Graces most bownden and affectionate
in Christo Jesu,
W. Kil

Dublin Decemb.
the 20. 1638.

(Addressed) To the most Reverend Father in God
my verie good Lord the Lord
Archbishop of Canterbury
his Grace deliver these.

(Indorsed) Rece. Janua. ult. 163$\frac{8}{9}$.

LIV.

Bishop of Londonderry (John Bramhall) to Archbishop Laud.

[State Papers Ireland, April 1639.]

May it please your Grace

Concerninge the Acts of my Lord of Killmoores Diocesan Councell my Lord Primate hath Declared himself to me with some passion against them. And in the Appeale concerninge the same (My Lord of Killmoore exceptinge against his Chanceller) he earnestly intreated me to be his delegate, which I declined because I had declared myself to my Lord of Killmoore formerly. But my Lord Primate will be in Dubline this weeke And then your Grace shall receive an intimation of his concurrence as you direct.

Since Mr King was sentenced by the unanimous votes of all the Commissioners, and himself had voluntarily submitted in open Court (as great cause he had), yet I have received the most bitter letter from my Lord of Killmoore ascribinge all the Acts of the Courte to me, and accusinge me to have drawne that confession and subscription from him by duress. I confess I was at first a little moved with it. But now I am resolved out of the uprightness of mine owne conscience to make myself a garland of his invective flowers. The peace of the Church and the meritt of the man shall weigh downe his passion, since whether his conscience did incite him, or whether he is afraid I will seeke to right myself, he hath bene with me and used much more respective both words and lookes than at any tyme these six moneths past. Though my other imploiments would not then permitte me to speake any thinge of these matters.

The Bishopp of Clonferte hath presented to your Grace the state of his see. I confess in most cases there are no demonstrative proofes on either syde. In many the Bishopps proofe is more probable. And though the rule be *melior est conditio possidentis*, yet where the doubt is whether a free rent or a farme rent, it can hold no place. There are two questions, the one concerninge the rents which the Bishopp receives as farm rents, the Tenents pay as free rents. To proove them to be free rents they neither shew wardshipp nor marriage nor reliefe, some of which are necessary and infallible badges of all estates in fee, yea very seldome they produce so much as a deed or an office. On the other syde the Bishopp shewes his cosherings

and refections[1]—an old Irish imposition upon Tenents. And many times his rentroll or the composition booke in generall.

The other question is concerninge the composition booke which is now held an authenticke recorde, which in many cases finds that the Bishopp hath so many quarters of land in such a proportion, not naminge them, but indefinitely and in gross. Now it falles out that the Bishopp hath rent out of so many quarters but the land is denied to be his. The Bishopp is able to proove that since the composition was taken he never had rent out of any other quarters of land (as they call them) in that proportion nor ever pretended title to any; and therefore conceives that of necessity this must be his land found by the composition booke. It is true the Commissioners do promise that in the conclusion they will consider it the Bishoppricke of Clonfert, as great reason there is: for he is for the benefitt of plantation to resigne to the Incumbents his 4*a* episcopalis, that is the 4th part of all tythes within his Diocess, without which the Incumbents can not subsist, and indowe it with lands at such rents as other planters pay. But this I conceive to be worse for the Crowne, than to give him his right out of his owne lands. For the Bishopp shall recover the whole lands where the Kinge shall have but a fowerth parte, except in case of fractions where the Kinge shall have all, and then the Bishoppes are persuaded to wave all claime and depend upon his Majesties goodness and my Lord Deputies to come in as other planters doe. I am very fearfull to be seene to have any hand in this business. And if some of these things be pressed it will be remembred who it was that urged them at the board. My humble advise with submission to your Grace is

1. That you desire Sir Geo. Radcliff to thanke the Commissioners in your name for their respects to the Bishopps and Church of Connaght in this plantation.

2. That you moove him effectually to deale with the Commissioners and particularly with the two Judges, The lord cheefe Baron and the lord chiefe Justice. 1. That where the Bishoppes title is equally probable he may be preferred. 2. That where the composition booke findeth for the Church in generall, it may be interpreted to have found in particular, unless it shall appeare that the Bishopp hath or hath had since the composition any other land in that proportion. 3. That where the lands questioned are fractions, the Bishopp may be admitted to hold either them or other lands equivalent to them (as the conveniency of plantation shall require) at such rents as other undertakers, and to pay to the Crowne. 4. That where there shall want convenient meanes some lands may be assigned to an Arch Bisshoppricke or Bishoppricke in lieu of their 4*a* episcopalis, yet still at such rents as other planters shall pay. I beseech your Grace pardon my prolixity, it is the Bishopp of Clonfert that writes all this not I.

I desire to tender my humble thankes to your Grace for the two letters, and especially for your booke, concerninge which if the Romanists deale

[1] *Coshering*, an old feudal right in Ireland of a lord to lodge and be fed at the house of a tenant.

ingenuously they will acknowledge that your Grace hath cleared that for both sides which formerly was sufficiently explicated by neither parte, and principally in your learned and judicious discourse concerninge the last resolution of faith.

Almighty God longe preserve you to us So praies

Your Graces most faithfull
and
Obedient Servaunte
Joh. Derensis.

Dubl. Apr. 20,
1639.

(Indorsed) Re. Maii 3° 1639.
Lord Derry concerninge the
State Bishopprick of Clonfert.

LV.

Bp Bedell to Archbishop Laud.

[State Papers Ireland, May 1639.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

Most Reverend Father my honoured Lord and Brother.

In the middest of your manifold cares for the publick good, give me leave to call your thoughts a litle to our Ecclesiasticall disorders in Ireland: Which I cannot shortlier do, than by continueing the story of our Seine of Kilmore, about which I was appealed by my vicar to my Lord Primate. About the middest of March, Dr Teate one of my clergy at our first greeting told me he was sory to heare the ill newes. This was, that your Grace had written to my Lord Primate, that by the judgment of Lawiers in England we had by our Synode incurred a Praemunire. He told me his Author, who heard it of the late Deane of Kilmore, now living at Drogheda and often at my Lord Primates Table. Within a few dayes I had a new occasion to try out the truth of this report, being served with 2 citations and inhibitions from Delegates, upon two new Appeales of Dr Cooke and Mr Baily from the Lord Primate (as denieing them justice at my unjust procurement) to the King in Chancery. I made a journey to Drogheda and there first mett with your Graces Booke, which with great content I read over. Wherein I was glad to see the passage of Gerso pag. 153 touching *Diocesan Synodes*. And much more, the rejection of that absurdity of making Reformation the founding a new Church, which makes some trouble us with that idle question: Where was the Church before Luther? and sets others as fondly a worke to assoile it. But most of all it rejoiced me to see the gates of the Catholick Church layd open, not knowing any bounds but the Faith once delivered to the Saints. The

blessed meeting of Truth and Peace sincerely sought in a faire and worthy way, which I have ever greived to be so litle frequented. I forget my purpose, but I should more forgett myselfe, if I should not *expresse the true sense of my minde touching your Graces worke.*

To retorne, I fownd it was a false allarme that had beene raised against our Synode, as from your Graces pen. Whereof my Lord Primate assured me, by shewing me the very Letters that accompanied your Booke. Inquiring further concerning these second Appeales, I found the incredible boldnes of Dr Cooke and his client, that durst attempt with a slander, and to his Majesty in Chancery, to despoile the Lord Primate of his jurisdiction. I obtained of his Grace an authenticall certificate of the truth, insteede of Epistles Refutatory, with which I petitioned to his Majesty in Chancery for a Supersedeas to those abusive Commissions. The Court referred the consideration heereof to the Lords Cheefe Justices, and the Lord Cheefe Baron who calling to their Assistance 4 other Judges, heard it the 20th of this moneth. I tooke 3 maine exceptions to these Commissions. 1. That where the Statute of Appeales provideth for the remedy of the Subjects in their just and lawfull causes for lack of Justice, here was no such lack, as well appeared under the hand and seale of the Lord Primate the Judge *a quo*, who was shamefully slandered to have denied that which he gave. 2dly. That where by the Statute they should have remedy by Appeale to the King in and for all maner of greefes and causes, as they were wont to have to and from the Bishop of Rome, I shewed by the expresse words of the Decretall (C. Cordi est de Appell' in sexto), that he that appealed to the Pope, unlesse he did assigne the cause of his greevance before the Judge *a quo in scriptis*, and demand Epistles, *reputabitur non-appellans*; neither of which had beene here done. 3dly. There is a clause inserted in these Commissions, which destroieth them. For the Delegates are commanded, to proceede in the causes of Appeale, *omisso Appellationis articulo*, which is impossible. And by this new clause, the wrong done to the Lord Primate should be smoothered, and never so much as mentioned. There were other exceptions; as this, that in these Commissions there was no clause of *Quorum*; any two of the 20 Delegates might do any act, any three might definitively sentence. The Judges have not yet retourned their Answer, but as farr as I conceive by speech with some of them, they are of opinion that these points cannot now be remedied in Chancery, but are to be considered by the Delegates themselves, who have differred the hearing of these causes till the beginning of Trinity Terme. How they shall proceede upon this last *insolubile* I cannot conceive. Once I shall have reaped this fruite of my paines, that I have laid open this abuse, and made it notorious. Not without some indignation (I beleeve) to such as shall observe, That whereas anciently (as your Grace shewes) from a Patriarch there lay no Appeale, now the Primate of the Realme shall by one, sometyme his Vicars Clerke, and another his owne Chaplaine, be appealed from; not only frivolously, and without due forme, but calumniously. And being cited to appeare by a Master of Arts and Bachelor of Lawe, when he comes there, it shall never appeare whether he be wronged or no.

Here I cannot but remember the answer of the Lord Cheefe Justice of the Common pleas, when I entreated him to be present at the hearing of the cause, being himselfe a Delegate. He said it lay in the Bishops themselves (of which order he saw divers in these Commissions) to remedy these disorders, it being their common cause. But I have found by experience, that such as are by their owne eminency out of danger, do not sociably as they might concurre to help their neighbours. If it might please your Grace to stirre them up, to repaire these breaches and outlets, whereby affaires Ecclesiasticall are daily carried out of their ancient channell, you should procure much peace for the present, and hinder the overflowing of disorder in this Church, which otherwise posterity is like more to regrett.

For my part, hasting daily (almost with equall pases to your Grace) to the periode of mans life, I have this comfort, that to my best understanding I have endeavoured to seeke Truth and order in the house of God in the footesteps of Antiquity and way of peace. With the zeale whereof if I have beene over carried, I humbly desire your Grace to shew me mine error; and to assist me against my malicious oppugners. So craving the blessing of your prayers I rest

Your Graces most obliged and
most affectionate Servant,
W. Kilmoren.

Dublin May 24,
1639.

I have sent herewith the copies of Dr Cookes Commission, the Lord Primates Epistles refutatory, and my Petition. I beseech your Grace to pardon this inforced troublesomnes.

(Addressed) To the most Reverend Father in God
my honoured Lord and Brother
William Lord Archbishop of
Canterbury his Grace these.

(Indorsed) Dat. May 24 / Rec. June 22 } 1639.

LVI.

Bp Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; continued opposition to his chancellor; recommends Mr Copinger for the vicarage of Preston; May 30, 1639.

[Tanner MSS LXVII. f. 113.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

My last to you, Good Mr Dr, were by my sonne Wm your Godsonne: to whom I gave in speciall charge that he should visit you, which he tells me he endeavoured to do, but missed of you. After falling into a dangerous

sicknes, wherein vpon recovery he relapsed twise, and having maried a wife in Norfolke, he is now retourned into Ireland. There is nothing displeases me more in all his jorney, than that he missed to receive your advices and directions for the course of his studyes, and of his life. Which if you will supply by writing (if it should not be to much to your trouble) I should account it a speciall kindnes. He is in the Ministery, and hath a Pastorall charge in my Dioces, to which being now retourned, he is to begin as it were a new life. God grant it may be to his glory, and the good of his Church.

In your last to me, you gave some aduertisment how I might find the Codex Canonum both in the first and latter lynes, and you gaue also some information of the disposition of him concerning whome I wrote to you. I have since had many experiences of him and (I know not for what cause but) have founde him the most adverse to me in all occasions, wherein he might have stood me in stead that might be. This sheet of paper would not contayne the particulars. I see well so that he may please his Superiors, he litle respects any other thing,—the character that as I remember P. Paulo sets on Cardinall Montain. I have retayned my ancient freedome both in speaking and writing to him, for which he told me at our last meeting he had a quarrell to me. I told him againe I was so bred, as I could not, aliud in corde clausum, aliud in lingua promptum gerere: and desired him to use the same ingenuity towards me. My Vicar Dr Cooke hath againe fallen foule upon me. The occasion was a Chapter or Diocesan Synode which I held at Kilmore in Sept. last. He appealed me to the Lord Primate and from him he hath appealed to the King in chancery, and brought the cause to Delegates. Most slanderously laying the cause of his grievance to be, that my Lord Primate would not giue a Citation and Inhibition for me, whereas he had both, as my Lord Primate hath certified under his hand and seale. The prime Delegate is he of whom you and I looke for no other but he will continue constant in his course. Pacience. I received some Moneths since a letter from Dr Holdsworth, by which I vnderstood that one Mr Ryece of Preston being gone to God, had left diuers Feoffes, of which I am one, in trust to convey the Rectory of that Parish with the advowson of the vicarage to Emmanuell College, according to a draught which he left with me before my comming away from England. He desired me to make a letter of Attorney to some freend to execute the trust in my name. I sent him one to you. Now I haue since received sundry letters from sundry freends there (Sir Thomas Jermyn among others) in favour of one Mr Copinger, who as they say was nominated by Mr Ryece in his life tyme, who is commended to be an able and honest man. Wherein besides the will of Mr Ryece the donour, and the possession of the parts (though perhaps we in the eye of law have the right of presentation) methincks should take place: and if you meete not with greater reason to the contrary I pray do what you can to establish Mr Copinger there.

I sent to Dr Mawe a litle before his death 20*li.* signifieing to him that I desired he should bestowe some part of it in such bookes as you should

be pleased to send me. Since his death I haue receiued letters from my Brother Bowles, that the wyddow being but poore entreates to retayne it to her owne vse: and the truth is I thinck it is as good to grant in kindnes that which a man cannot get, as struggle to no purpose. I haue condiscended to her request. I verely expected to receiue information by my sonne, whether you had appointed any bookes for me, and where: and to whom you would haue the money payd. But he fayling heerein I must entreate you to aduertise me by your letters to *Mr Philip Bowles merchant at his house in Lyme-streete* by whom I shall not fayle to send answer with money, and thancks. The buisines in Scotland hath I do beleeve put an end to Mr Durers negotiation for peace. Sith where so ever he comes it may be sayd to him, *Medice cura teipsum.* Concerning this and all other things when your haue a trusty messenger let me heare from you at large.

The Provost of the College (now Bp of Corke) hath used me with much respect. I have heard there was some difference betweene him and you; if it be not to your trouble let me understand the particulars. Pardon this scribling to my great hast, who am this day with my sonnes takeing our jorney to Kilmore. My Lord Primate is here, and very well: at our meetings we remember you still: who as I hope are not vnmindfull of us at the throne of Grace, where we may dayly meete notwithstanding any distance of sea or land. In that desire on your part and promise on myne owne, I rest

Your old and true freend and
loving Brother
W. Kilmoren.

Dublin May 30, 1639.

To my Reverend and worthy freend Mr Dr Warde Master of Sydney College in Cambridge deliver these.

May 30, 1639.

LVII.

Archbishop Laud to Bedell.

[State Papers Ireland, 28 June 1639.]

My very good Lord,

I have receaved your Letters of May 24 and am very sorry to heare, that you are so troubled with your Chancellor and Dr Baylie and their appealing from my Lord Primate to the King in Chancery, as if his Grace had denyed them Justice. But when I have sayd to your Lordship that I am sorry for itt (as indeed I am, and heartily) I know not what els to say to you or to doe in the Busines. For though according to the Papers you have sent mee inclosed, I see there is a great deale of hard measure

offerd to the Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction, and a great deale of unworthy carriage toward my Lord Primats person and Integrity: yet as the lawes and constitutions of this Kingdome are and (I beleve) of that also, I doe not yet see what remedy you will have. For if Cooke will be so unworthy as to slight and passe by the Church-Jurisdiction, by which he lives, the Lawyers tell mee, He may to the Chancery if he will. So that now I know noe helpe for you, unlesse the Chancery would be so Honourable as to dismisse it and send it back to my Lord Primats Court.

Your Lordship seemes further to bee troubled about a letter of mine written (as you are told) to my Lord Primate. In which I should say you were in a Praemunire about your Diocesan-Synod; but that at your comming to Drogheda, you understood by my Lord Primate himselfe, there was noe such letter written to him. The truth is my Lord I never writt soe to him, nor to any man els. But hearing much speech about your Synod, I did write to my Lord of Derry about the beginning, that out of my love to you, I was in very good hope you had been so watchfull over your proceedings, as that you had prevented the Danger of running into a Praemunire by medling with any thing about matter of Religion without being authoriz'd soe to doe under the Broad Seale. For soe (if I much mistake not) is the Statute with us in England, and that concerning the Convocation or Provinciall or Nationall Synod. And thus much or to this effect I then writt. And if the Statute bynde up a Provinciall Synod from soe doeing, I doubt it will not be interpreted to leave a Diocesan free. But this I writt for the Law as it stands with us. But how the Law is with you I know not.

And now my Lord upon the whole matter give me leave without offence to say thus much to you: What my Judgement is concerning Diocesan Synods, and upward from them to the Greatest Generall, since you have read my Book att Drogheda, you cannot but see. And that is cleerely my Judgment concerning Synods, and the Power of the Church in them being taken universally and in abstract. But when, and where these Synods shall be limited by the Statute Lawes of anie kingdome, there I conceave the Law must bee submitted unto, till itt may be help't. And therefore the Power of a Diocesan Synod will be founde one thing in one Kingdome and another in another as the severall lawes are respectively; which what they are in Ireland I know not.

Besides my Lord this is a very considerable thing for a Diocesan Synod in any Kingdome, that is well and uniformly govern'd in Church businesses: Namely, that it conforme itselfe in all things to that which is Provinciall or Nationall in that kingdome. For otherwise, the Practise of the Church will be very different according to the different Canons in every Diocesse. And that (especially in such Broken tymes of the Church as wee live in) will be very apt to breede Schisme and Division among the People. Many of them being notable, and too many of them being frowardly unwilling to distinguish inter Credenda et Credibilia; and in agendis very unwilling to be restrayned by anie Ecclesiasticall Orders in any one Diocese from that which is left at liberty in all the rest of the Kingdome. And therefore

though the Canons you made (a copie whereof I thanke you, you formerly sent mee) be grownded upon good and ancient Authority quoted by you: yet how they will fitt to the commanding circumstances of hic et nunc in relation to all other parts of that Kingdome, I doe hereby pray you to consider as prudently as religiously; and that for Peace and unity sake, to which uniformity is not the last helpe. And this my Lord is all I shall say in the Busines, with my hearty desire, that you would pardon my freedome occasion'd by yourselfe, and your Lettres. For otherwise I have worke enough att home, without looking over Sea to seeke more.

As for your three maigne Exceptions taken to the Commissions, I cannot say upon any knowledge of myne, that they are not strong. And yet I feare you will finde that the Lawes and customes of that Kingdome will overrule them, if the Judges Delegates thinke your Exceptions contrary to them, or anie way impeaching them. And I am sure you know abundantly, that the Canon Law is very much weaken'd in these later tymes in these Kingdomes.

The last Clause of your Lettre troubles me as much as anie of the rest. For if the Lord Cheefe Justice of the Common pleas did tell you that it was in the Power of the Bishops themselves to remedy these Disorders, they are much to blame that doe not joyne to doe itt. And if they among you, which by theire owne eminency are out of danger, doe not sociably concurre to helpe their neighbors, they are in my poore opinion much more to blame then other men. And whereas you adde further That I should doe good service, if I would write to them to repaire these Breaches, though my occasions presse mee very sore and heavily; yett I shall not refuse to doe itt, if you will tell mee what I shall write and to whom. And withall leave it to mee to write noe more then my owne Judgment shall approve. So to Gods blessed protection &c.

(Indorsed) June 28th 1639
A Copie of my Lettres to the Lord Bp of
Kilmore in Answer to his of May 24
1639. Concerning
1. His Chancellors Appeale from
   Lord Primat to the chancery.
2. His Diocesan-Synod and
   Præmunire.

LVIII.

The Bishop of Londonderry (John Bramhall) to Archbishop Laud.

[State Papers Ireland, August 1639.]

May it please your Grace,

What necessity doth, it excuseth. I broke my legge fyve weekes since by the fall of my horse. This hath freed your Grace from the im-

portunity of my letters so longe. Now I hope I am in a faire way of recovery, and humbly thankefull to God for it as a great blessinge. I thanke God the Bisshoppricke of Killmoore is settled by the authority of the councell board within a weeke before the expiration of the fyve yeares, with apparent reluctancy on my Lords part, and yet I am persuaded inward content, I am sure to the great advantage of him and his successours.

My present condition kept me from my Lord Primate since the receite of your Graces letter, but certainly he will write his opinion freely concerninge the Diocesan Synod so as my Lord of Killmoore may not know of it.

I humbly thanke your Grace for the Bishopp of Clonfert. Not he only but all the rest of the Bishopps in that Province and their successours will have cause to pray for your Grace and bless your memory. I have intreated Mr Raileton to moove your Grace if there should be any stoppe for a letter for a license of Mortmaine for the Bishopp of Downe. His Majesty is no way concerned in it in his particular interest. All the difference was betweene subject and subject. They had first found offices to intitle the Kinge to these lands and tytles which did truly belonge to that Bishoppricke, and then past them by Patent from the crowne (the then Bishopp sometimes consentinge often connivinge). The present Bishopp petitioned to my Lord Deputy, his Lordship referred it to me, I called before me the parties, heard the difference, and found the right clearly on the Bishopps syde (savinge those corrupt and unconscionable offices which they had taken). But pressinge some of them with pointe of honour, others of conscience, they all consented every man for himself to surrender their estates to the Church and accept leases at valueable rents. This I thought the plainest way to free the Church from all pretended claime of their heires; for otherwise the lease would have operated no otherwise then by way of estoppell, as the lawyers speake, duringe the continuance of it. And this is the only cause why we desire a license of mortmaine, it being indeed the whole livelyhood of that See.

I have one thing more to represent unto your Grace wherein I humbly crave that liberty which you have hitherto ever allowed me[1].

* * * * *
* * * * *

Your Graces most faithfull
and obedient Servaunte,
John Derensis.

Aug. 7, 1639.

[1] The remainder of the letter is about the Bp of Ross and the fitness of Scotchmen for the Irish Episcopate.

LIX.

Bp Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; Oct. 15 and 22, 1639.

[Tanner MSS LXVII. f. 138.]

Salutem in Christo. Good Mr Dr, my loving Brother, your letters of Aug. 14° came to my hands Sept. 27°. I thanck you for your care and paines taken for me theerein. I will at my comming up to Dublin make over the money as speedily as I can. I have now of this Argument only these, Joverius, and Caranza, and Theodorus Balsamon vpon the Nomocanon of Photius in the end of the 6t Tome of the Bibliotheca Patrum. Justellus his Codex Canonum Univers. Ecclesiæ I have seene; with a few notes in the end. Whether it wilbe *operæ pretium* to have those 4 Codices Canonum which you mention besides the Councells, I remitt to your judgment.

I am glad the buisines of Preston is so well accommodated. I had 3 or 4 letters from Mr Copinger of London touching his Brother, one of which I thinck I sent you. Touching my Lord of Corke[1], I never changed a word with him about your difference: but (as I wrote in my last) he hath profered, yea performed much kindness to me. And if you do send any thing to him, I will vndertake to consigne it to his handa. I do much approove his reformation of the manners of the College, emprooving the rents, enlargeing, and beautifieing the buildings. In the service of God many account he hath brought in too much ceremony, others esteeme the condition of this Country and tyme do require it: and I thinck it may do more good here than in England. I shalbe very glad to see your writings for mine owne information in this point. It is now ten yeares agoe, that my now lord of Ardagh[2] being with me, we had speech touching the question whence the Efficiency of Grace is in Conversion: and at his request I did presently write downe in a piece of paper Theses, or queres rather, about that Argument. Which he *communicated* as I vnderstood with Bp Downham: and there were 2 or 3 writings interchanged betweene us, whereof my Lord Primate had the copies. I do not know whether my opinion seeme erroneous or no, but since my last answer he suffers me to enjoy it peaceably. I do here send you the copie of the first Queres, desiring your serious censure of them. The rather, because they come very neare to the pointe; *Vtrum homo ipse operetur velle in negotio conuersionis.*

My cause with my chancellor is this next Terme to be heard by the Delegates. What the successe wilbe God knowes. I did write to my Lord of Cant' reflecting upon his booke, and the passage of Gerson pag. 153 touching Diocesan Synodes. I had a kind answer from him, acknowledging there is a great deale of unworthy carriage towards my Lord Primates person and integrity, &c. but so as he promiseth no great helpe.

[1] Chapell, Bishop of Cork and Ross.

[2] Dr John Richardson, Bp 1633.

I shall suffer with much content whatsoeuer happens: having (as I wrote) this comfort, that I have to my best understanding endeavoured to seeke truth and order in the house of god in the foote steppes of Antiquity, and way of peace. Thus with my harty salutations to Mris Warde and to Dr Chaderton together with your selfe, I committ you to the gratious protection of God and rest,

Your most loving freend and Brother
W. Kilmoren.

Kilmore, Oct. 15° 1639.

The messenger by whom I send these to London, is one of my Tennants here. He retournes hither betwixt this and Christmas. If you thinck good to send any thing hither, direct it to Mr Philip Bowles in Lyme streete, and he shall call for it at his returne. I could never yet see the Quodlibeticall question. If Mr Buck have any of them left and of the history of the Interdict, I pray send me halfe a dozen.

Since the writing hereof this bearer resolves to stay in England so as you cannot send by him.

Oct. 22. 1639.

To the right Worshipfull my Reverend
and loving freend Mr Dr
Warde Master of Sidney Coll.
in Cambridge deliver these.

LX.

Bp Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; Jan. 31, $16\frac{39}{40}$.

[Tanner MSS LXVII. f. 166.]

Salutem in Christo.

Good Mr Dr, I received by this bearer your letter of the 20th of December. I am ashamed that having put you not only to the trouble but the charge also, of the bookes whereof you sent me a Catalogue you have not yet received satisfaction for them. I made over in Michaelmas Terme moneys to my Brother Philip Bowles to pay for them, but I do and must acquite him of blame heerein that you are not payd, for the Bill was not to be payd vpon sight but at 3 moneths day. I hope ere you receive these that debt is discharged, though the obligation I have to you for this and many other kindnesses can never be cancelled. I hope when my Lord Primate shall have received my Lord of Sarum his booke I shall get a sight of it. I do honour and reverence that your worthy Colleague and what so euer proceedes from him. For myselfe I am questioned by my Vicar for a Synode holden of my Clergy An°. 1638 and first appealed to my Lord Primate; Then from him (by a most false suggestion as denieing him justice) to Delegates, and as the matter is yet carried like enough it

fall in the cause. Our Decretalists do here rule the rest at their pleasure and will never cease till they have ruined vs with themselves. And our Order being by their only occasion become odious and insupportable, yet will still uphold them. Gods will be done. *Quicquid erit, superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est.* I cannot now enlarge as I desire, being to goe to the high Commission Court, where I am a Commissioner: an honour whereof I am not proude as I was never ambitious of it. We add dayly fewell to the fire. God be mercifull to us. To whose gratious protection I committ you, Good Mr Dr, with my sister your wife, and rest

Your most loving
Brother
W: Kilmor.

Jan. 31. 1639.
Dublin.

To my Reverend and loving
Brother Mr Dr
Warde Master of Sidney
Colledge in Cam-
bridge delivor these.
Jan. 31. 1639.
My Lord of Kilmores letter.

LXI.

Bp Bedell's letter to Dr Sam. Ward; remarks on Mr Horde's book, "God's love to mankind," and the Bishop of Sarum's answer; the case of Archibald Adair, Bishop of Killala; Apr. 23, 1640.

[Tanner MSS LXV. f. 64.]

Salutem in Christo Jesu.

I have at length received the bookes which you sent me (Good Mr Dr) and I thanck you much for your paines and care in that behalfe. I hope you have received the money for them from my Brother Bowles, whereof I wish to hear in your next. I have seene also since my comming to Parliament, both Mr Hords booke *Gods love to mankind*, and my Lord of Sarums full answer thereto. Mr Horde takes reprobation to be all one with predamnation; which, if it should be without respect to sinne, would lie open to all those arguments which he brings. But taking it for *Preteritio* or *Neglectio* there is no one of them fastens vpon it, especially takeing man as presented to God in the fall. It came to my minde in the reading these bookes (which also I imparted to my Lord Primate) that there is difference betweene your *non decernere se daturum gratiam*, and *decernere se non daturum*. The former putts nothing at all touching the reprobate, the latter seemes to shutt them vp in vnbeleefe, as Mr Hord

accuses, since every good and perfect gift comes from God alone. But it would be considered whether the former of these do merit the name of *a* decree; or be to be accounted any part of *Prædestination*, since it doth not foreappoint any act of God, or end of the creature. And if all that God doth not decree to do he decrees not to doe, it seemes his whole power is exhaust or barred by his decree, and he can do nothing *de novo*, which seemes inconvenient. These things I doubt not but you, and my Lord of Sarum have thought of: but pardon my dulnes; and in your next shew me your judgment. And as your bookes (which I yet have not sent to Kilmore) giue occasion, resolve me in one doubt from them upon occasion of the H. Commissions proceeding against the Bp of Killalla, a Scottishman, for certaine rash wordes by which he was supposed to favour the Covenanters. I chanced to veiw in the College library here, Justellus his Codex Canonum Universalis Ecclesiæ, where out I had heretofore taken a note touching the proceeding against a Bishop. It was out of the 1. Councell of Constantinople Cap. 6. And shewing it to my Lord of Corke, we both went with it to many of our Commissioners, mett that morning ere we went to Court, and disswaded the censuring of the Bishop as being contrary to that Canon: and as tymes and things now stood inconvenient. We prevailed nothing: the Bishop was sentenced to be deprived of his Bishoprick, deposed or degraded, fined £1000, imprisoned during the King's pleasure, etc.

Now since the arrivall of my bookes, I perceive that both in the Roman Code and in that of Dionysius, this Canon is wholly wanting. And in the Councells at large To. 1° it is put in as it is said *out of Balsamon*, What should be the reason of this difference betweene the Greekes and Latines (for Zonaras hath it as well as Balsamon and Photius Nomocan. Tit. 9 Cap. v°) I cannot conceive. Especially since Dionysius translated the Canons as he professeth in his preface *sicut habetur in Græcâ authoritate.* And yet this Canon, with 2 more the last of that Councell, he mentions not. That which doth more increase the marvell is that in the Latin bookes the Canon, that *the Bp of Constantinople should have æquall Primacy with the Bp of Rome because it is the younger Rome*, is expressed, which yet the Latines deny to have beene accepted by the Bp of Rome.

I find in the African Code, Can. 128 and 129, some thing like to the beginning of that Canon of Constantinople, concerning those that may not accuse: but that the matter should be heard by the Bp of the Province is not added as in the other. And by Can. 19. it was to be brought to the Primate of the Province (as it should seeme) whatsoeuer was layd against a Bishop, and be determined by him or Judges named by him. I am inclined to thinck, the three last Canons of the Councell of Constantinople as they are now in the first Tome of the Councells were not in the Collection which Dionysius translated, whosoeuer the Collector was, but why they were omitted, I cannot ghesse at the reason.

By chance looking on the African Councell in the Roman Code, page 245, I found a place in the Canon De Episcopis Numidiæ which me thought bare no sense: I turned to it in the African Code, pag. 237, and found

that insteede of,—*ad sanctum senem Xantippum deferrem*, it is corruptly, cum ad sanctum senem *sancti spiritus* deferrem, and so in Binnius' edition p. 750, e, but p. 725, it is *Xantippum*. Such like errors by comparing these 3 Codes together (for they are the same copy with that which is in the end of Dionysius' exiguus) may be corrected, and sometymes the Greeke translation will helpe thereto. I doubt not but you have observed such like errors in the words, and some other things in the matter: if it please you to impart them I shall acknowledge it as a great kindnes. In the French Councells I like well Sirmondus his ingenuity that acknowledges the Bookes of Carolus M. *de Imaginibus* against the 2d Nicene Councell, and that of Ludovicus Pius in the *Councell* of Paris not to be forged by us; but his cautelousnes in suppressing them together with P. Hadrians Answer to the former, I cannot praise. These could not be denied, but *it was not necessary* (he meanes safe) *to set them out*. Yet Binnius sets forth the answer of P. Hadrian which is often (nay almost alwayes) so litle to the purpose of the Reprehension, as I beleeve Sirmondus was ashamed of it, and Binius would not expressely mention the booke which he answered, but in this generally—qua confutantur *illi qui Synodum* Nicenam secundam *oppugnarunt*. Both of them observe that in the Comœdy, *Loquitur paucula*.

This precept I litle observe my selfe in giving the raines to my pen in an argument wherein you have beene long conversant, being but a novice in it my selfe. But having some idle howres since the ende of the first Session of Parliament, I have a litle begun to looke into these bookes, and accordingly make them the subject of my writing to you. I will now breake off for very shame; and with my harty salutations, to your Consort and Reverend Dr Chaderton, I committ you to the gracious protection of God and rest,

Your assured loving freend and
Brother W. Kilmoren.

Dublin Aprill 23.
1640.

Remember my service to my Lords of Exeter, and Sarum whom I hartily salute in the Lord[1].

[1] Samuel Ward, of St John's, Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity and Fellow and Master of Sidney (1609—1643) died about three years after the receipt of this letter. His learning and his curiously morbid character are described by Mr Mullinger, *University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunction*, p. 490.

Fuller, who was his pupil, speaks warmly of him. *History of the University*, p. 234.

The Bishop of Exeter at this time was the celebrated Joseph Hall, translated next year to Norwich. The Bishop of Sarum was John Davenant, Margaret Professor of Divinity and like Hall one of the delegates at the Synod of Dort. He published among other things 'Animadversions' on the book of Horde's. Ob. 1641.

LXII.

Bp Bedell's letter of religious consolation to his sister July 13, 1640.

[Tanner MSS LXV. f. 96.]

Loveing and Dear Sister,

I have receiv'd your letters whereby I perceive the Cor remembrance you have of me (for which I thank you) and the contin of Gods mercyes to you in respect of your outward estate, in which r I truly rejoyce, and according to your request, humbly and heartily with you in praysing his holy name.

Two things you complain of, one that goeing to see my Son, an wife, (an office of love, in the performance whereof you accounted you in Gods wayes) you receiv'd soe sore a blow, as you did without findin particular cause thereof. The other your wonted coldness and dea under the means of grace soe long enjoy'd. Wherein you require (some helps of power and consolation. I would I were as able as bound and willing to afford it you. I will endeavour upon the enco ment which your faith and prayers give me: and God I hope withou shall speake peace unto you. And first I account 'twas wisely dor enquire of the cause and to find out if perhaps there were any parti sinn that might occasion that correction; and to consider whethe were in Gods ways or noe, since this is often an occasion of his crossin Yea although the way we walke in be good (as was that of Balaam all by the Lord), sometimes yours may be some crooked affection which make it displeasing to God, and our way is not then right before him. tho' as you write we have Sinn enough at all times to provoke hin (as I know you have heard and learn'd) his correcting hand is not all upon us for sinn. This the story of Job doth plainly set forth, and pa larly that in the constant performance of these dutyes, of sanctifiein Children and offering sacrifice for them according to their number, calamities befell them. It is true that sometimes for remedy of sec and that deadness whereof you complain, God striketh us; as to those are in a swound we give a hard blow to call life again, neither doe they it ill at dearest friends or parents hands, when they come to them s and understand the reason of it, yea this is great mercy not only in re of those who are suffer'd to sleep into death, but those allso wh permitted to fall into some fearfull sinns (as David's case shews), w kind of falls doe a great deal more breake the bones, than any bodily against a post can doe, yet was not the rowseing him from security cause of Jobs afflictions, as 'tis plain, by that profession which he mak the end of the 3rd Chapter. 'I was not in safety, nor had I rest, nor I quiet, yet trouble came': by which he intimateth that he was not in

lethargy of worldings, that put away from them the Evill day. More neer he was to the confidence of David, Psal. 30. 6, "I said in my prosperity I shall never be moved, Lord by thy favour thou hast made my mountaine to stand strong," suitably whereto he professeth Chap. 29. 18 'then I said I shall dye in my nest, and shall multiply my days as the sand'; for in this presumeing and rejoyceing in the present feeling of God's favour is allso a certain spirituall security in the prosperous estate of the soul ariseing from the performance of Dutyes: whereupon we think God owes us thanks and forget the lessons of our Saviour, 'When ye have done all these things say ye are unprofitable servants &c.' He that considereth the verses goeing before and the rest of the Chapter following, shall find that Job was too bold on his innocency, as Elihu taxeth him (Chap. 23rd); for remedy of this as well as the tryall of his patience, and propounding it as a pattern to posterity it might please God to afflict him, and in like manner he dealeth with his Children at this day. As in the naturall body a veine is open'd to prevent or remedy plurisies, and a sound part is lanced for the cureing other parts affected.

To returne to you (Good Sister) you see what is to be said in your former case. Neither is it necessary that accident should befall you for any particular sin; nor that you should therefore doubt you were out of Gods ways. Possible it was to awaken you out of your dullness and deadness whereof you complain, possible to correct some overweening in respect of your performance of good dutyes; certainly to trye your faith and patience, and make you perhaps an Example in them to others. And if in the search you shall not be able amongst all these to resolve concerning the particulars, yet in the generall resolve with the prophet, 'I know o Lord, that thy judgments are right, and that thou in faithfullness hast afflicted me.' Touching the second complaint of coldness and deadness in respect of the time and means of Grace, I have heretofore signify'd my mind, and promis'd some remedyes to be used in this Case, to which I cannot add much. This only, if by occasion of that sore blow which you had, your prayers be more fervent, your humbleing your self under Gods hand, your weariness of the world and desire of a better life encreased, doe not that wrong, I say not to your self, but God your heavenly physician as to complaine still, and say you are never the better. The prosperity or (to use your word) the flourishing of the soul, doth not stand in comfortable feeling. Either these be the flowers, yea fruits of the Spirit, or I must say plainly farewell my part. Wherefore by my advice (Good Sister) change your complaineing style into humble thankfullness, and say with the Psalmist, 'The Lord hath chastened me sore, but he hath not given me over to death, Open to me the gates of righteousness, I will goe into them and I will prayse the Lord; And thou art my God and I will prayse thee, thou art my God and I will exalt thee. O Give thanks unto the Lord for he is good for his mercy endureth for ever.' I remember that to this purpose I commended to you the 119 psalm, I would have you joyne to it the often use of the 116, by the reading, singing, and meditation whereof you may stirr up your self to that thankfullness which is meet, of the same

purpose also are psalm 103 and 86 the prayer of David, and psalm 145 his prayse. And because you require my prayers let me require you and all my friends in those parts, to perform the like duty to me. More need had I never, being not only in worldly matters unjustly spoyld and unkindly us'd by my pretended friends, but opposed and affronted in the performance of the Dutyes of my calling, every way distracted and resisted, abandon'd of those that I would have thought should have stood with me. I pray God it be not layd to their charge.

Let your prayers be that the Lord would strengthen me and deliver me from every evill work, and preserve me to his heavenly kingdom, to whom be glory for ever and ever Amen. I doe heartily resalute the good Lady Spring and her children: Mr Burrowes and his wife, with all the rest of our friends there. The Lord give us peace outward and inward, have us in his gracious protection, soe I rest

Your Loveing Brother,
W. Kilmoren.

Dublin 13 of July,
1640.

LXIII.

William Bedell the younger to Dr Ward (12 *June*, 1643).

[Tanner MSS LXII. f. 109.]

Reverend Sir,

I have received yours of the first of this instant Month. In which you justly blame me of forgetfullnesse of those many obligations where by I stand oblidged to you, both in respect of my deceased Father and my selfe and mine owne particular. I desire to give you a breife account of my present condition; which is not settled as you have heard. After I had some while rested me in Essex, at my Fathers brothers house, after my long and dangerous journy out of Ireland, I came into Suffolke, and being with an auncient freind of my Fathers (Dr Despontine) I was desired to preach at Whepstead by some of the Parish who had knowne my Father. Now the Minister of this Towne, one Mr Hinde, had a little before left his place in this manner: He furnished him selfe with an horse and Pistols and a Sword and borrowed some mony, and takes his journy with purpose after some weekes to returne; for what reasons I can not certainely say, but for some cause or other he is not yet retourned. In his absence (which hath beene since Christmas) I have at the entreaty of the Parish supplyed his place, and upon their Petition to the Parliament I am appoynted to serve the Cure and to be payd for my paines out of the benefits of the living till Mr Hinde appeare. This is my settlement; and truly I confesse you may well marvell that you were not consulted with. But for your satisfaction, First, the thing was suddaine and unexpected. Secondly, the

People were wholy unprovided of a Minister, so that I could never bo at mine owne disposing since I first preached among them. And lastly I was certainly informed that you were not at Cambridge, so that I knew not whether to goe unto you, and withall I neither was furnished with horse nor Mony. Thus you may in part, understand my case. As for that poynt in your letter touching my Father's Death, I can not at large satisfie you. Yet thus much in short: He dyed in the Rebels hands, but had courteous useage, in comparison of what other Englishmen found. I shall give you the full relation shortly (if God please). For those writings your letter mentioneth, I thinke I heard my Father speake of them. But what became of them or of the Bishop of Corke him selfe I know not. Sir, the truth is, all my Fathers bookes and Papers are with the Rebells. And although I had some principall labours of his, I durst not bring them (being to passe among the Rebells and being liable to be searched at their pleasure) except I would extreamely have hazarded my life, which without that was in danger enough. For Conclusion, I am glad to heare of your health, and I shall shortly by Gods help see you. But as for your Imprisonment[1] and the cause therof, which your letter expressed, they are matters above me. Therfore I can but desire God to direct you and to fit us all for times of suffering. Which I shall dayly doe in my poore prayers. Thus craving your Blessing, I rest

Your dutyfull Godsonne,
William Bedell.

Whepstead
June the 12th, 1643.

[1] Ward was with other Heads of Houses imprisoned in St John's College in the spring of 1643 for refusing to supply money to Parliament. He died some few months after his release, 7 September, 1643.

APPENDIX.

On the Efficiency of Grace.

[Dr John Richardson, Dean of Derry, afterwards Bishop of Ardagh, wrote to Bedell on the subject in 1629, instigated it is said by Ussher and others, in order to elicit Bedell's sentiments. Richardson's treatise and correspondence are omitted, but Bedell's treatise in reply is here subjoined. It was sent Oct. 11, 1630.]

The purpose of St Augustine in the booke 'De correptione et Gratia' is by you most rightly conceiued to be, the *satisfieing the doubt how Grace and Reproofe can stand together.* In the greatest part of the booke he digresseth to other questions. But where he speaketh to the purpose of that question, he is as full and direct for reducing *Efficiency to the meanes*, (including the Grace of God) and deficiency in those that haue the meanes *to default of Mans will*, as may be desired. As for that opinion which you say *if St Augustine had held, his solution had beene easier*, viz. that *it is in mans power and choice to make that Grace which the Meanes carry with them efficient or not efficient*; that is none of mine. I neuer said, I neuer thought it. No it is in God's power and free choice, in and by the word (some part whereof is Reproofe) to make it efficient; and in mans power and for *the free choice of his enthralled will*, by being wanting to the effectuall meanes, to make it deficient, and finally (if God be not more mercifull to him) to make himselfe guilty *of condemnation for unbeliefe.* Unto this default doth St Augustine reduce the want of Grace and *efficiency* to God by the meanes and praier, as Cap. 3, '*O homo in præceptione cognosce quid debeas habere, in correptione cognosce tuo te vitio non habere, in oratione cognosce unde accipias quod vis habere.* And Cap. 5. *Tuum quippe vitium est quod malus es* etc. Timor correpti hominis vel pudor vel dolor, cum salubriter stimulat (agit) ut *rogetur* bonus, et ex malis qui corripiuntur *bonos faciat qui laudentur.* And Chap. 6, shewing that reproofe is profitable, both to the unregenerate, and regenerate. To the one, *ut ex dolore correptionis voluntas regenerationis oriatur, si tamen qui corripitur filius est promissionis, ut strepitu correptionis forinsecus insonante et flagellante, Deus in illo intrinsecus occulta inspiratione operetur et velle.*' To the other that by reproofe they may receaue compunction, and retourne to theire former workes from which

they are fallen. '*Sed per hominem correptio siue ex charitate fit siue non fit, tamen ut correptio prosit non nisi per Deum fit.*' Chap. 14. '*Cum homines per correptionem in viam justitiæ seu veniunt seu reverteruntur, quis operatur in cordibus eorum salutem nisi ille qui quolibet plantante atque rigante et quolibet in agris atque arbustulis operante dat incrementum Deus, cui volenti salvum facere nullum hominis resistit arbitrium.*' Marke how he compares the concourse of Gods working with the reproofe, to that with planting and watring, and the workes of husbandry. The conclusion of the whole booke is, '*Nec gratia prohibet correptionem, nec correptio negat gratiam, & ideo sic est precipienda justitia, ut a deo gratia, per quam id quod precipitur fiat, fideli oratione poscatur.*'

These passages in reading ouer the booke once againe I obserued by occasion of your reflecting upon the maine project of the booke, wherin I did not obserue anie one sentence against my defence.

p. 2. Your Demand, *what the speciall concourse of God is and whether it will not fall in with that Physicall Act of God which I and others reject?* I would I could satisfie; But, I do 'quaerere et pulsare tecum': God open to us both. I suppose wee may haue some light from Gods generall and *common* concourse, to conceiue what this *speciall* is. The Apostle speakes of that, *In him we liue and moue and are. Acts* 17. 28. Out of which place it seemes plaine, that God not only supports his Creatures in their being and formes, but workes with them according to their several Natures; as with the sunne to shine and runne his course, the fire to burne, the eye to see, the trees to grow and beare (if they be planted, watred, and pruned), which is St Augustines similitude; and before him St Pauls and our Lord Jesus Christs. But now if the sunne stand still, or goe back, if the fire burne not, if the eye see not (as those of the Disciples at Emaus) it is because God deines his concourse, and creates a new thing; supporting notwithstanding the being of the creature, which if he denie, it retournes to his former estate of nothing whence by Creation it came. This example of Gods *common concourse*, may well serue to shaddow out his *speciall* in the supernaturall life, being, and motion of the new Creature also; which after it is once constituted, God concurres with it, and all the means of the preservation of it, assists it, and both by objects supernaturall and impulses quickens and mooues it, and finally conducts it to the supernaturall end therof.

But we are now in a point of deeper Contemplation, viz. that of *the making this New creature*, which our Saviour calls Regeneration: wherein for the manner (as you say wonderfully well) *how God workes by his grace upon the soule it passeth mans understanding.* Generally it seemes we may say, it is according to the *manner of mans nature, reasonable*, in those that are of yeares *by teaching.* And we may helpe our selues by the example of the *natural generation*, as our Lord Jesus Christ teacheth us in the place you quote. There is a seede which small in bulke, being determined by the forme of the generant, and accompanied with a power of life, falling into a convenient place with Gods common concourse, there is

brought forth a new forme, which with Gods assistance day l
fashioneth all the parts till they be compleate.

Behold an Image of our new birth. *He that begetteth is* C
St John often speakes: The seede is the worde, the wombe is the
the *new creature* the man regenerate, or *spirituall* man. It is tru
here the wombe is like vnto the *dead wombe* of Sarah; but (that w
in this similitude singular and unlike,) the seede quickens and dispo
dead wombe to receaue, and so (euermore with Gods concourse)
forme is infused, *supernaturall* as the concourse it selfe was. Th
abort or false conception falls out sometymes; which is neither fro
generant nor of the seed, nor defect of Gods concourse, but of the v
In like manner here; *the seede of God abideth not* in some that i
it, 1 Joh. 2. 24, 27, and 3. 9.

As to the distinction of *Auxilium speciale* into *Habituale et A*
and this latter into *Prævium* and *simultaneum*. Bellarmine as you
denies *Auxilium speciale* to be *Habitum infusum aut permanentem*
tatem, and makes the Genus of it *Actio* or *motio*. And he doth
Grace into 2 sorts: 1, *Permanens*. 2, *Auxilii specialis*. So as if we
him we may cutt of *Habituale*[1]. Howbeit *sustentatio habitus* n
reduced *ad habituale auxilium* and *suppeditatio objectorum ad a*
The sorts of 'Actuall' seeme to be in diuers termes with the same
ing distinguished into *Excitans et adjuvans*, *operans et coop*
prævium et subsequens. The former is sometymes called *impulsi*
illapsus. The latter, *sustentatio et corroboratio subjecti inter age*

Both these may be either Immediate or Mediate. The former wh
creature is mooued immediately by God, using thereto no ordinary m
The 2nd is when God mooues, but by meanes and according to their fi
so as there is not only the presence of the meanes, but their faculi
helpe to the motion. But as the end it selfe is supernaturall, so a
meanes, together with the influence; which makes the whole to be
Speciale auxilium. All which are contrary *in Generali auxilio*.

Auxilium Generale reducitur ad Gratiam Creationis. Speci
Gratiam Redemptionis. This is that for the present seemes to me.
you for your part. I retourne to your letter.

It is *Semipelagianisme* (you say) *to affirme* '*meritis oratione*
'*fidei tradi gratiam*' euen '*ex congruo*.' It may be you doe conceiu
Bellarmine *meritum de congruo* to be fownded *in aliquâ dignitate* o
for if with Durand and others you take *meritum congrui*, *quando n*
non debetur ex natura operis, sed redditur solum ex liberalitate d
in your next wordes *you confesse* this is orthodoxe doctrine. I ad
worde *mereri* in St Augustine and other Ancients is so taken, yea for
than so, euen to win acceptation, as in the booke *De Predestinatione*
you cite straight after, *Quis dicat eum qui jam cœpit credere, ab i*
quem credidit nihil mereri? And Prosper[2]: *nonnullis meriti l*

[1] De Gra. et Lib. Ar. l. 7. c. 2.

[2] Prosper Aquitanicus, Episcopus Rhegiensis, *de Gratia Dei et arbitrio adv. Collatorem*, Basel 1528.

potest petentis fides, quærentis pietas, pulsantis instantia. [Collat. cap. 3.] But let us avoide the ambiguity of the word, and say *that to Fayth and Prayer there is giuen more grace*, and *giuen freely out of Gods free Grace*; this I think you will grant to be orthodoxe.

If yet (say you) *that prayer be a prayer of Grace, and exclude Conatus naturæ, bonam voluntatem naturalem, according to the Fathers and the Councill of Orange*,—I goe with you hand in hand, and foote by foote. And so let us proceede where we left before.

p. 4. '*By your Lordships words*—' The meaning which you conceiue (by my words as you say) to be mine I disclaime and detest. Neither can I sufficiently wonder out of what wordes of mine it could be conceiued: I will not father such a misbegotten Monster. I spake not, nor wrote of *men in the state of Nature corrupted*, putting to the *strength of Nature*, or not using that *strength of Nature*. I spake no word of grace offered but expressely to some *degree giuen*. I neuer accompted that Grace sufficient to *make them beleeve* and obey, and that by reason *of that* (I know not what) *Grace so offered fayth and obedience are the gifts of God*. My words were that Justifieing Fayth is a free *gift* of God, transcendent *to all former Grace*, &c. This which you make to be my meaning, is the marrow of Pelagianisme: omitting therefore this meaning which hath *οὐδὲν ὑγιές*. I say againe, "The distinction of sufficiency and efficiency of grace must be maintained, since it appeares Grace is not Efficient *de facto* to some to whom it is to some degree giuen; and yet they are condemned for not obeying and beleeving the Gospell." This is all that I here said.

The discourse is this. *These that are condemned for not beleeving had sufficient Grace, Some that had not Grace Efficient are condemned for not beleeving.* Ergo *some that had not Grace efficient had sufficient Grace.* And consequently these are *not all one.* Heere the conclusion of the Argument sheweth the Justice of these mens condemnation. Which to declare (considering that Fayth *is the gift of* God, which men cannot haue of themselves) was the maine project at the first intended.

p. 5. *In this meaning &c.*] This monstrous meaning, put it to what death you please, you shall not displease me. As for the *first opinion* which Bellarmine rejects, it is the same which I rejected as meere Pelagianisme.

I come to your answers to the texts brought to proone that *some which had not Efficient Grace had sufficient*, where I can scarce persuade myselfe you do cordially oppugne this assertion, but let us consider what you say.

To that *Essay* 5, '*What could have beene done more* (you answer) *by a vinedresser in regard of outward meanes?*' But this vinedresser in the Culture of this spirituall vine useth inward meanes as well as outward. Which if you do not grant, you ouerthrow the frame of the parable: and deny that his husbandry is as effectuall to cause his vine to beare good fruite (if it were not nought) as that of the ordinary husbandman. Compare this with Joh. 15. 2, 3.

2, 3.] *More* (you say) *he could haue done, as he makes his new Couenant*, Jer. 32. 40, &c., *and if absolutely he would, he could of stones haue raised up Children to Abraham.* Very true; and therefore he

speakes according to the *ordinary course* of his dealing with men to bring them to obedience, which is upon the faythfull and diligent use of former grace, to giue more. Assuredly if they had brought forth fruite it must haue beene of his gift, as Moses speakes, Deut. 29. 4, notwithstanding neuer so sufficient meanes. *Yet* sayth he *the lord hath not giuen you an heart to perceiue and eares to heare unto this day.* And yet the lord asketh, Chap. 5: *Who shall giue that there were such a heart in them that they would feare me and keepe my covenants*, v. 29. A plaine argument, that his purpose is not to giue it by his infinite and absolute power to all those that he hath giuen meanes sufficient unto, but to such as by former grace use the same well.

To the place Matt. 23. 37: you say, *volui secundum modum et mensu-* p.
ram dispensationis, gratiae secundum ordinem administrationis divinæ in colligenda Ecclesia (Nec ego plus postulo).

As to that distinction of *Jerusalem* and her Children, to which you would haue a *sound answer*, &c. I am affraid it is but a quirke. *Jerusalem and her Children*, are the *City and Inhabitants*, as in Luke 19. 44, and he speakes (if there be any difference) of both: '*ye would not* etc.' Compare it with Isai. 49. 5.

3dly, 4thly.] *God would by way of command and imitation*, and Christ *would as the Minister of Circumcision.* This is the same interpretation that I would choose. For Gods invitation is serious and frequent: and Christ's ministry (if euer any mans) effectuall and sufficient, though frustrated by the perversenes of the people. Rom. 10. 21.

To that *Math.* 11. 21.] The text sayth not, *they would haue done more* p.
then Chorazin did, but plainely specifies *repentance*, euen that for the want whereof he upbraideth these Citties, *v.* 20. That the repentance of Ninive *was not outward only* but true is plaine by Jonah 3. 10. God saw the changing their workes. If Sodomes repentance should not haue beene true (at least in a regardable nomber) it could not haue beene excused from destruction, Gen. 18. Your discourse that *if God had giuen (antecedently) any speciall grace to Tyre and Sydon which was not vouchsafed to those of Chorazim and Bethsayda he could not haue upbraided them*: And that therefore *it must be graunted that God should giue no more grace to the one then the other*, is very sownd and strong. But the feare that, *if this place be meant of true repentance they should difference themselues*, is needelesse. It shalbe God that still shall difference them, giuing to the one according to his promise, and free purpose, the grace of Fayth and conversion vpon their diligent use of the meanes, and sorrow, confession, and prayer of pardon: leaving the other in their unbeleefe *for their not improoving the meanes as they might*, as you well acknowledge. Or if we will seeke the roote of this difference in the *subject*, it is Chorazin and Bethsaida that difference themselues to destruction in that grand point of repentance, and Tyrus and Sydon should haue had nothing which they had not receiued.

As to the place 2 Thess. 1. 8.] *They shalbe condemned* (you say) *for* p
not obeying so much as they might I accept this answer. And here I

demaund, how they might? By the streingth *of Nature?* I trow you will not say so. It remaines therefore by the power of the precedent Grace giuen them through the meanes: whereto they were wanting, and so put a barre to themselues from Gods further bounty. Consider the use of the words ὑπακούειν and ὑπακοή, Rom. 6. 17 and 10. 16, and Acts 6. 7, and Rom. 1. 5, 16, 26, and many like places.

Your second answer, which reduceth the *justice of their condemnation for not beleeving to the obligation of Creation to beleeue whatsoeuer should be so reuealed as the Gospell now was*, I do not well understand: By Creation they were bound to beleeve nothing in this kind, but that which should sufficiently be confirmed to them to be from God, if you grant they had thus much; you haue shewed they had sufficient Grace to make them euen according to the law of Creation justly condemned for *unbeleefe*. If by the preventing Grace of God in the use of the meanes they were not thus farre elevated out of their naturall impotency, the proper reason of their condemnation is no more then for originall sinne.

3. 4.] *Thirdly*, you say, *so great judgment was due upon their sinnes by the law—so as this is but like the threatening of the Infants of Nineveh for not repenting, and of the posterity for the ancestors sinnes, the punishing the people for Achans theft and for Dauids adultery, there being cause enough for parte punishments beyond that which is alledged*, I answer the sinne of *not obeying the Gospell*, is in the text alledged, as the reason in parte at the least) of so greate judgment. It is neuer said, that the 120000 infants of Nineveh should have perished *for not repenting*. Nor of the posterity that they shall be punished for their fathers sinnes, unlesse they fulfill the measure of them. The words of the Apostle are not a *threatning* but a *foretelling* of the unavoidable judgment of them that having the Gospell obey it not, whereto the cause of Achan and Davids numbering the people hath nothing like, unlesse you reduce all perhaps to *Adams* sinne. But refusing the Gospell doth aggravate the condemnation of those that obey it not [Math. 10. 15, Act. 13. 51]. If those that refuse it, haue no more grace then those that neuer heard, it is not a favour to offer it, but rather a judgment. I conclude still as before. *Those to whose conversion and obedience God could doe no more according to the ordinary course of his dispensation of grace in the gathering his Church; whom he seriously and frequently invited by the most powerfull Ministry that euer was; Those that had such meanes as would haue brought Tyre and Sidon and Sodome to repentance;* Those that are *condemned for not obeying the Gospell*—had sufficient Grace; some that neuer *have Efficient Grace* are such. Ergo[1].

p. 8. Concerning *Freewill* how it hath *part of the worke, all the goodnes sowndnes and spirituall life in it being in solidum to be ascribed to Gods working by the word and spirit*,—sith we agree, it is but vaine to

[1] Ergo: some that never have *efficient* grace have *sufficient* grace, and may be condemned. See p. 374.

multiply words. As to that you add (*and by others meanes besides*) I will not contend: although I think it might be well defended that by the word and spirit *alone* the soule is converted, howsoeuer other meanes may helpe to dispose thereto.

In the Description of *Sufficient Grace*, I take the tearmes *sufficient to Conversion*, and to *inexcusablenes for lacke of Conversion* as Æquipollent. For wee seeke the reason why a sinner is Condemned for not beleeving; seeing he cannot beleeue but by the gift of God. Where I said that Grace is *sufficient, that reduces lacke of fayth to the deficiency of mans will, in such Acts as by former Grace he could performe.*

Here you object sundry thinges: 1° g°. *Gratia habilitat tantum.* R. Negatur consequentia de Gratia universe. Quod si de ista Gratia præcedanea ad conversionem de qua iam loquimur intelligas, sive sit conservatio habitus supernaturalis, sive impulsus, quis dubitat quin saepenumero nullum actum educat: quod tute paulo ante confessus es.

2°. g°. *hominis Arbitrium liberum est in iis (omnibusque consequenter operationibus Gratiæ) agere et non agere.* R. Certe ad agendum liberum, ad bene agendum non nisi quatenus liberatumque; addo, modo operationes consequentes quas dicis, non excedant vim & facultatem gratiæ antecedaneæ. Neque tute hoc negaueris, si tibi constas.

3°. *Ergo opera antecedentia ex gratia & libero Arbitrio, seu elicita ex Gratia per istiusmodi liberum arbitrium merentur saltem ex congruo consequente conversionem.* R. Aufer istam verbi vel invidiam vel ambiguitatem; et die clarè, vt ante scripsisti impetrant & consequuntur ex merâ gratia & liberalitate Dej. Hæc quoque responsa mihi occurrunt in præsentia; sed videro, vel potius tu videris.

Where you say *the texts of Scripture whereupon I call the word the matter and forme of the new man as he is converted, import only the instrumentall Efficiency of it.* I cannot be of your minde: who will say the seede in naturall generation is an Instrument only? Doth the instrument abide in the worke? These similitudes be not bare words *sed quibus res subsunt*, as I conceiue *it.*

Where you say, *the liuely operation of Gods spirit is included in the word, non exoranda semper & ubique. But when and where God opens the hart, as in Lydia, and as many as are ordained to life* Act. 13. It is true that the spirit doth not alwayes convert and quicken in the ministry of the word: no not euen towards the Elect, yet for my part I think the word is neuer unaccompanied with the powerfull operation of the spirit, euen to those to whom it is the sauour of death to death. It is not like to a lancet covered with a sponge, to be put forth upon occasion. It doth ordinarily accompany the arrowes of Christ, that they fall *sharpe euen into the hearts* of the Kings enemies.

In the case of 2 alike capable, &c. (you add) *et in se æqualiter dispositi et receptibiles*, (and I meant no lesse) we do not vary about the *subjects.* Neither do we vary about the *meanes*, viz. the word with Gods speciall concourse which what I conceiue it to be, I have set downe before.

In the 2d man also we agree, the *defect is in the subject* But here you add, *such a Defect as is in it selfe irrecoverable.* I do not understand
p. 11. your meaning, Such you say as *was in Pharaoh, Simon Magus, &c. differing only in them in greatnes of Degrees:* Nay heerein excuse me; these be no fitt examples of the ordinary Deficiency of the subject. These *were hardened*, as being giuen ouer to a reprobate minde. *Nemo de repente fit improbus*[1]. But say, such as in some that *beleeued not*, at Pauls preching Act. 28. 24 who notwithstanding by reasoning among themselves *v.* 29 by conferring againe with St Paul, and searching the Scriptures (as Act. 17. 11), by praying to God for his Grace, might after be disposed to conversion, and Gods healing. For still the word is that which must remooue the Defect, and not the naturall abilitie of their will, howsoeuer their Industry come betweene. And if this be your meaning when you say *the former Defect was in it selfe* (i.e. by themselues, by natural strength) *irrecouerable*, as farre as I see we agree. But what now if this 2d man be none of Christ's sheepe, be not giuen him of the Father, be not severed, as St Augustine speakes, from *the Masse of Perdition?* Verily he shall perish in his sinnes; and the maine cause of his damnation shalbe, because he *obeyed not the Gospell;* and the stopping of his mouth, and making him guilty before God, is, because being inlightned, and perhaps convicted of the truth of the Gospell, he did not (as by the power of those Degrees of Grace he might) humbly desire further grace of God; as you say before, he obeyed not so much as he might. This is the condemnation, the greatest and justest cause of condemnation, as our sauiour shewes Joh. 3. 18, 19. But saving Fayth is the gift of God; yea but had he not beene wanting to himselfe and the meanes, God would haue giuen him that also. Heerein I hope we shall agree also at length.

p. 11. 3] the 3d section, *you grant the word is light, and truth, yea exceeding righteous, and true with Gods special concourse such as you haue expressed.* This addition what it imports in your meaning I know not, for I do not find *that expression.* But be it what it wille, it is alike superflous, as to say the sunne is light, or the earth stable or man a reasonable soule, *with Gods common assistance.* For as those creatures are so by their formes (though to their being it is necessary that they haue Gods assistance) so is the word light in it selfe and truth too, though to the light and certainty thereof God himselfe concurre, which he doth so constantly, that heaven and earth shall pass ere one jote thereof passe away. The *passage of Prosper* is very true, but litle pertinent to the purpose, as farre as I conceiue. And for that which you add touching *the Gentiles*, be it true that *τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ appearing in the creature was not able to free them* from *the hold of unrighteousnes.* The word of God is more potent. Consider Psal. 19.

Where I gaue the terme *willing* to naturall weaknes, I tooke it for voluntary, and such as the subject *is well contented withall*, which is some what lesse then *wilfull and purposed.* I followed herein your owne words

[1] *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.* Juv. II. 82.

in the former paper. So also in that speech of *Devils*. For as to men, farre be it from me to say, that *the power of acceptation of Gods offers and promises is in our sole strength, or that the word of God and will of the naturall* (yea or regenerate) *may produce grace; or that, initium justificationis et salutis nostræ sit a nobis*; or that we discerne our selues (*in melius*). What soeuer is done by the power which the word and spirit puts in us I account to be done by the grace of God; and he it is that differenceth by Grace.

4] *The praises of the word of God* (you say) *are not simply and abso-* p. 12.
lutely true of it in it selfe, but by reason of the inward cooperation of the Spirit beyond all that power and efficacy which is in the worde.

Giue me leaue here to vse that of Elihu. *At this my hart trembleth and is mooued out of his place.* What? is not the word of God *light in it selfe? truth in it selfe, simply and absolutely?* Is there some way, respect, or condition (without the transcendent cooperation of the spirit) with which it hath anie darknes or falsehood in it? Is it but true *per accidens*? for that is the opposite to *per se*. And remember that in our purpose wee take the worde not for letters and syllables, or phrases and sentences, but doctrines, assertions, discourses, promises, threates: euen that which St Paul calleth *the truth according to Godlines*. How do our men say of the worde written, *Scripturas per se veras esse et fide plenas? Evangelium est potentium Dei ad salutem absolute*, viz. *semper et in sese consideratum*. Beza *ad Act. Cal. Mompet*, p. 76. How doth Tertullian say of the same, *Qui audierit inveniet Deum; qui etiam studuerit intelligere, cogetur et credere*? How do we urge the people to reade them and credit them, if they be not *true in themselues*? and how shall they be justly condemned which *obey not the Gospell*, if it be not *the truth*? And in deede this is St Pauls owne phrase concerning unbeleeuers, Rom. 2. 8, that possibly neuer haue that transcendent cooperation of the Spirit which you conceiue. Consider the like phrases: Gal. 3. 1 and 5. 7; Eph. 1. 13; Col. 1. 5; 2 Thess. 2. 10, 12; 1 Tim. 2. 4 and 4. 3; 2 Tim. 2. 15, 18, 25, 3. 7, 8 and 4. 4; Tit. 1. 1, 14; Heb. 10. 26; Jam. 1. 18; 1 Pet. 1. 21; 2 Pet. 1. 12, with many more. Good Mr Dr, consider of this matter well: for in deede this your assertion crosseth the Streame of the Scriptures, and yet it follows uppon the reducing *Efficacy or Efficiency to a transcendent Act*, beyond the power of the word. Neither can you avoide by this defence, *but the word of truth shall haue less truth in it selfe than anie proposition in Euclide*. Unlesse of those also you will say, they are not true in themselues without Gods common concourse.

Whitak. cont. Duran. p. 113.

As to the text Esai. 30. 21, *That there is a voice of the spirit besides* p. 12.
the voice of the hearers, no man I think will deny. And that often (euen beyond the word) Gods Spirit doth by immediate impulse or restraint *keepe* the faythfull in the right way. But doth this proone *that the word in it selfe is not simply and absolutely truth or light, but by reason of that inward cooperation?*

John 6. 44. These *that come to Christ must learne of the Father* who doubts? But doth Bellarmine (whose authority is neuer much with me,

especially where I professe to dissent from him, as in the roote of efficiency I do), doth Bellarmine, or can any man thence inferre, Efficientiam non habere pro causa efficaciam disciplinæ, sed transcendentem actum Doctoris? whereas to the contrary by the words *audiuit et didicit*, it is necessarily included that God converts by hearing and learning.

The doubt *whether God doth ordinarily concurre speaking to the heart that which man speakes to the eare*, may be cleared methinckes by those texts that make *the resisting* the ordinary Ministry of the *word* to be *resisting of the Spirit*, as Acts 7. 51 and Gen. 6. 3. And where the power of the word is mentioned, as Psalm 19 and 45. 5; Heb. 4. 12, so Heb. 6. 4. As for *auxilium concursus generalis*, that hath place only in nature. Where the meanes and end are supernaturall the concourse is speciall.

And so (as I conceiue it) doth God ordinarily concurre with his owne ordinances: else I see not how he should not delude men in his invitations and promises to the use of them.

Where I said *the worde, euen as it is the subject spoken by man, is as well able to convince as any demonstration in Euclide*; you say I seeme to separate it *from that speciall concourse of God it selfe*. I answer. I do so indeede *cogitatione*; as your assertion also doth: and your former distinction of the worde of *God spoken by man* and the word of God *as the spokesman*. But in *deede*, and *exercise*, they are not separated ordinarily. And in the mention of a Demonstration of Euclide when I say *it is convincing in it selfe*, I do likewise set apart the consideration of Gods common concourse. For my purpose is to consider quid sit *a parte rei*, et *non ad hominem*. As a Demonstration in Euclide is consequent and the conclusion true, though no created understanding did contemplate it, and gods common concourse doth not make it true, but shewes it only to him that considers it, and judgeth from the principles; So in the Demonstrations of the Spirit, the speciall concourse of God's Spirit doth not make the truth, but shew it; where God hath vouchsafed to giue the habit of the principles by the supernaturall meane of the worde. This was that I meant to say.

pp. 13, 14, 15. As to the *testimonies* which you heape up to prooue *Consensum veritati nobis a Deo dari* and That we cannot *apply or dispose our selves to Grace*, or make saving *use of the meanes of Grace, The Fathers Arguments, texts, and authorities to that purpose*, That *Naturall strength cannot beleeue and giue assent to the mysteries of Christian religion &c.*, of all this I am most firmely persuaded and there is not a syllable which I will not subscribe unto. I could also be copious in this kinde, but let us retourne to our purpose.

p. 16. The advice that *Similitudes deceiue us not* I do as willingly take as give, and on the other side let us take heed that we fancy not differences in those of Gods owne making, where none are. *Bread, milke, oyle, and seed* (you say) *with Gods concourse haue an inward faculty*. But it *seemes not to be so with the word; it being an arbitrary instrument and no naturall cause*. This difference is not sound. For surely that is a naturall cause, and hath an inward faculty which it pleased the Almightie Author of nature to appoint: without whose arbitrary appointment *bread*

could not nourish, and when it should please him otherwise, *Non ex solo pane vivit homo &c.* And in like manner that hath an inward faculty as a *supernaturall cause* to reach to a supernaturall effect, which the same God appointes so to be; he concurring by his Gracious and speciall assistance; as the *foolishnes of preaching to saue them that beleeue.*

Yea but, *Verbum non semper habet conjunctam sibi operationem* p. 16. *Spiritus*, sayth Arnold Corvinus No more hath bread, water, clothes and wages, gods common concourse, Hag. 1. 6, 9: like to which case is that of those that are giuen up to be hardned according to that of the Prophet cited by our Saviour. *By hearing* you *shall heare and not vnderstand, etc.*

Where you say by *a Tropicall speech the Effect of the principall Agent* p. 16. *is giuen to the instrument, when the word is said to beget, nourish, and saue us.* Indeede if the Acts of the principall Agent be reported of the meanes it cannot otherwise be, but a tropicall speech. But the word is not said to *begett* us, but *the Father of lights with the word of truth.* And when the Holy Ghost speakes thus Jam. 1. 17, who dares now put to that guesse *without, beyond, besides, not by any inherent vigor of the word but by an outward and concomitant force.* The like speeches are else where as 1 Pet. 1. 23, 1 John 3. 9, ec. As to the terme *nourishing*, it is most properly reported of the meanes, as milke, or stronge meate. Who euer deduced this to the causes *instrumentall*? Otherwise the principall giuer of nourishment I confesse may be said to nourish, as Joseph nourished his Father and family, and our Heauenly Father giues us the true bread of Heauen; but this is still in the word and sacraments the meanes of nourishment.

Concerninge Esai. 5. Where you here add, *that wee must take heede* p. 16. *that wee limit not the power of God.* He doth not limit it, that confesseth, if he would use his absolute and unresistible power, without any dutie or condition in the creature, he could easily do all that it pleased him, *to make Israell fruitefull, and all that heare to beleeue*: But, where as the lord excuseth himselfe and layes the blame upon the vine, where he accuseth and condemnes the unbelievers,—who seeth not from hence, that he did not withdraw the ordinary concourse of his Spirit, but that Spirit was resisted?

As to *the trebling of the spirit of Elias*, it would not alter the case. p. 17. For this were infinitely lesse then that which was performed to Jewes in the Ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, who had *the spirit without measure.* But the manner of dispensation of saving Grace to them that are called, was alike, as in the Ministry of other Prophets.

But *Actually* (you say) *he doth more to the saluation of the Elect than he did to those Jewes*! What is that to the purpose to proue that *Potentially* if I may so speake he did not enough for the former?

By this phrase of speech (you say) *God only intends to set forth the greatnes of those meanes which he used to them, whereof they made no good use at all, but the contrarie. And therefore in that regard it selfe they were justly inexcusable.* Add for *not beleeving*, though not having

saving fayth giuen to them. Wherein do we then differ? For this is all my defence.

p. 17. In this place (I said) you *were more liberall then I desired.* I pray mistake me not, I intended not to put you to proofe of that you affirmed, but shewed only that you had no reason to appose me, your selfe confessing more then I said, yet for the thing, I will neuer asseuere *that a speech neuer so wise in it selfe and apt to mooue will mooue neuer so wise a man without Gods common concourse.* No more will Gods worde though it be his wisdome *without his speciall concourse.* Here I am glad to finde that you acknowledge the word *in it selfe euen without the operation of the H. Ghost to be the wisdome of God.* There is the same reason of the *truth* and *light* &c. And now me thinkes, we have enterchanged places: you speake for me and I for you. Mirum ni imprudentes idem dicamus.

p. 17. You add, *the words of God are powerfull in themselues if they had a fit subject. At auditor forsan non attendit, forsan intellectum ridet.* What other thing said I in my first Paper? *The motiues vsed in the word are such as haue euen in right judgment power to mooue and persuade.* But through the indisposition of the Auditor or *reachlessenes* often persuade not. I add now, that all this was well enough knowne to God ere he appointed this meanes; and with all this the meanes, if they may be permitted to haue their worke, are powerfull to inlighten, purge and perfect: including still the concourse of Gods spirit.

p. 17. Yea but *this power to mooue is pro susceptibilitate Subjecti pro capacitate hominis Naturalis. They moove in that Sphære. But as farr as Gods word is supernaturall, as in matters and mysteries of Fayth etc., elevandæ sunt potentiæ animæ virtute aliquâ supernaturali ut reddantur susceptibiles.* Heere I could haue desired you had not presumed so much of *my capacity* but had declared your meaning more fully. If I conceiue your meaning aright, it is this: The *Scriptures* (so you seeme to take the *word of* God) in matters morall and naturall are able to moove a naturall man, but not in the mysteries of Fayth. This is beyond the Sphæere of their actiuitie, unlesse first the powers of the soule be elevated by some supernaturall power to make them capable: such you conceiue to be the transcendent concourse of Gods *spirit beyond the Scriptures.* To this I say. (1) Illumination and conviction must goe before all motion, as in oratory, *delectare et docere*, before *monere*: (2) In naturall thinges what motion you meane I know not. In Morall and divine thinges the word written (or understood rather) is able to inlighten; (3) and (diligently considered) to convict the understanding, that it is from God: still with Gods gracious concourse; (4), when this is done, I make account that eleuate sunt animæ facultates virtute supernaturali fidei dogmaticæ, ut jam susceptibilis sit motionis Spiritus Sancti, ut quod ipse Scripturæ docent, deum invocet. Neque hic opus ulla motione Physica aut ipsum transcendente, sed concursu tantum cum verbo.

[1] Psal. 19. 8 and 119. 180. 1 Cor. 14. 24, 25.

p. 18. 1. At nos (inquis) *de qualitate operantis Spiritus conjunctæ cum verbo etiam num quærimus.* 2. *Et in quibus mensura graduque tali*

et tali operatur. R. Ego pro mea virili ad istam investigationem quod potui contuli, Tu si quid indagaris, adjuva in partem.

3. *If such an operation be ordinarily joined to the word, then among all the hearers of the word Quis te discernit? Then principium discriminans non est in salvante sed salvando*: and so forth out of Prospers Epistle: save that in the comma, *divinæ voluntati humana voluntas præfertur*, you leave out *impiè* and againe in the close *malè*; where Prosper hath, *a se ipse inchoare malè creditur.* Sir I acknowledge your discreete charity in avoiding hard tearmes. But put them in hardly, you shall not offend me, if you apply them to those of whom Prosper speakes. Looke a litle before, and you shall find they were the grossest sort of the remnant of the Pelagians in France who held that by mans *naturall faculty* (which they styled initiall grace) through asking, seeking, and knocking he may come to saving grace, and (as in this sentence is *contained*) *originaliter malus receptionem boni non a summo bono sed a se ipso inchoare* (*malè* say I with Prosper, and *impiè*) *creditur.* But this is not our case: we suppose that a man hath receiued supernaturall Grace, not only to understand the Gospell, but to call Jesus the Lord, which he could not do but by the Spirit of God.

You will aske still, *if this concourse with the word be ordinary, Quis discernit?* I answer, "in pejus se discernit qui spiritui sancto resistit: In melius, qui non resistenti, sed ex gratiæ precedentis dono petenti, pro mera et indebita sua liberalitate cumulatiorem gratiam donat." p. 18.

The place Acts 6. 10, where it is said of those that disputed with Stephen that they were not *able to resist the wisdome and spirit by which he spake*, was brought to shew that those that *resist the word resist the spirit.* You thinck, *it seemes rather to make for the irresistibility of the spirit in the Ministry of the word, and worke of conversion.* This cannot be; for these are the same men which *suborned false witnesses against him*, v. 11. 2ly you add, that *in deede that place speakes not of conversion but of Conviction by Argument in Stephano,—Diuinity disputations.* The place mentions neither Conversion nor conviction, but shewes that the Jewes opposing St Stephen in disputation opposed also the spirit by which he spake: which notwithstanding was too hard for them, and albeit they could not but be vanquished, yet they made resistance still, by suborning *false witnesses &c.* This was resistance to the spirit, both as to *Conviction* and to *Conversion.* p. 18.

To the other place *Acts* 7. 51, you answer *granting the Jewes resisted the H. Ghost speaking in the mouth of the Prophets and working upon them too but in an inferiour degree as you shew out of Corvinus.* Which is the selfe same thing that I affirmed.

To *deny that to be in the power of the word which properly belongs to Gods most excellent majesty is* no abasing (you say) *of the excellency or majesty of Gods word. The word in it selfe strictly considered hath not power to enlighten purge and perfect the naturall man dead in sinne.* Here (1) you must first be entreated not to be so *strickt* in the consideration of the word, as (cleane besides the state of our question) to strip it of the p. 19.

concourse of Gods spirit working, as your selfe euen now confessed, upon the auditors though *in an inferiour degree* under the last effect.

(2) Secondly consider I beseech you that, which you have acknowledged before, *the word euen without the operation of the holy Ghost to be the wisdome of God*: and by like reason you must confesse it is *light, truth, desireable*, euen in it selfe, considering it as *stricktly* as you can devise. Thirdly remember I pray that which you well acknowledge after, *the fayth*
p. 25. *of Assent*, which some call historicall or dogmaticall, is *a supernaturall Grace wrought by the Ho. Gost, so as he that hath attained that gift* hath something *supernaturall*; and hath heard *in part the voice of the sonne of God to* quicken him though he be not yet perfectly quickened. When wee speake of such a man, and of the power of the word to him, with the concourse of Gods spirit, what loosenes in disputing is this, to bring in the consideration of the word in it *selfe strictly* without the operation of Gods Spirit in a meere naturall man?

Yea, but, *to enlighten purge and perfect are supernaturall Actions*, and the word with the speciall concourse of Gods Spirit is a supernaturall Agent: *by it selfe, is a supernaturall meane* which God hath chosen to worke upon the Naturall man by it, to quicken him, and giue him spirituall life, and not only to worke at the presence of it, but to worke by the power of it.

p. 19. *It is the spirit of truth* (you say) *and not the word of truth as the subject spoken by man that leads us unto all truth.* Good Mr Dr, be not of the number of those that oppose things subordinate. It is the Spirit of truth, in and by the word of truth; as appeares by this, that he leades into truth, by calling to remembrance *the words of Truth.* Joh. 14. 26.

Our Saviour (you say) *after he had opened the Scripture Luk.* 24. 23. *was faine to open their understandings that they might understand the opened Scriptures v.* 45. This interpretation is not agreeable to the analogy of Faith, or reason. For if there were any difference in tyme betweene the opening of the scriptures and the opening of the understanding, this must go first; else the labour would be lost to open the scripture while the understandinge was shutt. But the next wordes do cleare all, and shewe how he opened their understandings, to understand the Scripture by saying to them, *Thus it is written and thus it behooued Christ to suffer &c.* Soe, by the opening the Scriptures themselues with accurate comparison of them, he opens their understanding, as before in the Chapter vv. 25. 26. 27. 30.

p. 19. David, *though he had* Gods statutes, *thought* he *had not a sufficient light in them for this blindnes*, but prays God *to open his eyes*, that he might *understand these enlightning statutes themselues:* And *if this were necessary for him, being in some part light in the Lord, how necessary then is it for them who are yet darknes and not light.* Against whom is this spoken?

Not against me; who do require prayer euen of those that are enlightned, no lesse then you: and do acknowledge that to the opening the eyes the supernaturall act of the Holy Ghost is absolutely necessary to

them that are darknes as well as you. One thing I will entreate you to marke, that euen this opening that is desired is still subordinate *to the word*: as is cleare by the words following *that I may behold wonderous things out of thy law.* Compare it with v. 130.

Though the word be powerfull by a transcendent act of God, yet Tullyes offices nor any other humane writing is halfe so powerfull as the worde of God, is euen in it selfe. Honesta oratio: in respect of that which others speake, depressing the word to exalt that transcendant act which they imagine, yet in my opinion the comparison is too unworthy; not only of the halfe but the thousand and ten thousand part. For of that which is finite to that which is infinite there is no proportion. p. 19.

Without the transcendent act of the Spirit, the word cannot do all the whole worke of conuersion, shall it therefore be able to do nothing at all that appertains unto it? This demaund I suppose you make not to me, but to the depressers of the worde, to giue me content. I could haue desired you to specify what this your *non-nihil* is, which the word can doe without the transcendent act of the Spirit, either to the worke of Conversion or that which appertaineth to it. To the contrary I defend that the word with the concourse of the spirit in and by it, is able to *do the whole worke of Conversion and saluation.* the demonstration whereof is made by S. Paul. 2 Tim. 3. 15. 16.

In the place of 1 *Cor.* 3. 6 it seemes to me that you doe not rightly take the terms proportionall. For Pauls *planting* and Apollos *watring* are not correspondent to the *word*, but only to the *labour* of the Ministery in the word. The word is the plant or *seede* it selfe: the *planter and waterer* are both nothing, as it followes in the next verse. As for *Plato* and *Tully* neither is their doctrine the *seede*, nor their labour any part of this *husbandry.* yet by your opinion that the Grace of *conversion is transcendent to the meanes*, you haue shewed no reason hitherto, why Tullyes offices may not as truelie be said to convert as Paules Epistles, if it could please God to concurre thereto. p. 20. Mark 4.14.

Yes, for *the word is of that sort of meanes which is fitted for the worke as a knife to cut, and a medicine to heale, and is so fitted farre beyond Tullies offices.* This in deede is somewhat; though *to be farre beyond Tullies offices* is infinitely short of the fitnes of the word. For that is *absolutely* fitt so as nothing is lacking: Tullies offices contrariwise absolutly unfitt as a sawe to cutt a mans meat, poison for Physick. Let us not speake, to halves, and mince the matter on this fashion; but give glory to Gods wisdome, and power, which if it haue *made choice of this meanes*, as you confesse, certainly it is perfectly able to attaine the end for which it is destinated. p. 20.

Nay (say you) *I would not haue you imagine* that I *grant the word is so well fitted for the supernaturall worke as the meanes fore mentioned are for their naturall operations.* To the contrary I affirme that it is more fitted then these are: No knife so powerfull *to cut*, as the word, *sharper than any two edged sword:* no medicine so able to *cure* the body, as the word which hath *life it selfe* in it. No meate, no Manna so able to p. 20.

preserue, and continue naturall life, as the word contayning (which is the prose used by our Sauiour, John 6. 64) the *bread of life* that *came downe from heauen.* And consider if it be not absurdity *in terminis*, that God making choice of naturall meanes to naturall ends, they should be fully and perfectly able to their ends: but *choosing a supernaturall ordinary* meanes to the greatest worke of saluation, this should not be so well fitted as the other: Especially the Lord himselfe witnessing to the word of his grace that it is δυνάμενον σῶσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν (Jam. 1. 21).

But so we must wholely exclude Gods speciall concourse by the spirit, working (as you *conceiue and thinck wilbe found true*) *beyond the power which is in the worde*). What necessity? More then we do exclude Gods common discourse working when it pleaseth him *beyond the ordinary power of naturall meanes.* As to the repast of Elijah a barly cake and a cruse of water, he did concurre in such sort, as he went in the strength of that meale forty dayes and forty nights, 1 Kings 29. 8.

p. 20. But *you proove* this exclusion, *because, That speciall concourse is Gods act; not included in the worde but transcendent aboue the letter of the word.* Heere I thinck you retourne back againe to the ordinary concourse of Grace with the word: and possibly I did mistake your meaning in the former sentence, and there also you meant of this. I answer First you are too strickt and cautelous, when you put insteede of *the word* the *letter of the word.* The word, as I said aboue, is not in letters or syllables: but in notions, doctrines, exhortations, as the Scriptures still use the tearme (Acts 2. 41, 4. 31, 8. 4, 14 and chap. 14. 3). The *Lord gaue testimony to the word of his grace with signes and wonders.* Secondly as to the term *included*, neither I nor any man of the least capacity can accompt Gods act to be included either in letters, or wordes, or conceipts of any creature; or meane naturall, or supernaturall, as ointment in a box; or a quality in the subject or as heate in pepper. This is the meaning of that terme when we say the word is effectuall, *including Gods concourse by his spirit*, and meate nourisheth *including* Gods common concourse, *not severing or excluding but presupposing Gods assistance*, and as it is Acts 11. 21. *Gods hand*, with those that minister the word: as the hand must be with the sawe, otherwise it cutts not, how fitt soeuer it be.

p. 20. When you add,—*That if I include it in the word itselfe and make it no transcendent act beyond it, then I hold the Holy Ghost doth therefore concurre only with the worde in speciall manner, because it was at the first penned and indited in speciall manner by the Holy Ghost; He working no more afterwards at the poste deliuerie of the word than men absent or deceased at the reading of their workes.* This consequence I do deny. For although I should speake of the word indited and penned (as I haue often said I do not) yet to euery use of the word, I account the Holy Ghost cooperates more or lesse, euen as the smith doth with the hammer that he hath forged. And I demaund of you, if because Gods common concourse is included in the use and worke of naturall meanes, we must say *it is because he created them at the first, but at the present use*

concurres no more then men absent or deceased do at the reading of their workes?

But if I make it to be any new operation of the Holy Ghost then the word hath not that power included in it selfe— Concerninge the meaning of that terme I shall not neede to use words. The sawe hath a power of cutting *in it selfe*, which yet is not operatiue without the hand. Therefore when we say it is operatiue, we include the handes assistance and influxe.

And as *for that other transcendent act of God* (the spokesman which you conceiue) no question but all the acts of God by meanes or aboue meanes are *free and just* (yea mercifull) workes of his Grace, which were no grace if it were not euery way free; without merit of any man and freely communicated as the word it selfe. p. 21.

The issue which you make; vizt that *the power of the word of God is not so much questioned in it selfe as in the subject in whom it workes*, I do not well understand. Questioned it seemes it is, *in it selfe*, but not *so much*. And in truth the consideration of the subject cannot be excluded in the inquiry of the power of it in it selfe, since it is chosen as meanes to worke upon this subject. *The subject* (you say) *may sleight it, and gainstand it without any abasing of the excellency of it:* which is very truelie said of you, and therefore much more giue way to it, and the operation of it with out any such *abasing*; nay with *glorifieing the worde of the Lord* as S. Luke expressely hath it, Acts 13. 48. p. 21. p. 21.

But *if it shall be in the power of the subject wholly to giue way to the operation of it or not*, this is *both a great abasing the Word and also a presumptuous advancing the corrupt nature of man, for so all shalbe left first or last to the will of man.* That it is in the power (or impotency rather) of mans corrupt will to resist the worde and spirit of God, not working out of his absolute will, but by *way of perswasion*, is a thing cleare in Scripture, Acts 13. 45, 46, and it is a thing so manifest in experience, as I cannot but marvell if you denie it. Againe, that after the receipt of some degree of *preventinge Grace* it is in the power of mans will (so farre forth by that Grace enlarged) with Gods concourse to giue way to the further operation of the Word and Spirit; yet to performe some act, not exceeding the measure of Grace receiued, in order to further Grace, is no *presumptuous aduancement of corrupt nature* but an humble glorifieing of *restoring Grace.* And as all deficiency is thus reduced to mans free will, so all *goodnes, soundness, efficiency* to the free grace of God.

As to that which you add of the *installing of free will in the Porters office of letting in Gods grace*: It lieth not in the power of mans Free will to open the dore to Gods calling before it be enlarged also by the Grace of God so to do. When it *is opened*, it can also *knock* that God may open. Here I would entreate you to signifie that opinion in your next concerning the text Joh. 10. 3, *To him the Porter openeth;* whom you take there to be *the Porter.* Compare it with Reuelation 3. 20. p. 22.

You sayd *the word has no power to charme the deafe Adder being*

spoken neuer so wisely. I admitted this, *when it cannot patiently be heard.* Now you say, *the Psalmist describes not in the* 58 *Psalm the singular and notorious obduration and obstinacy of some particular persons, but the common impiety of the wicked.* Here I craue leaue to dissent. The Prophet speakes of notorious and desperately wicked men, as is plaine by the 2nd verse, *that wrought wickednes with the hart,* and whose *hands did weigh or ballance violence;* which seemes to be a metaphor from them that poize the *dart* or other like weapon ere they throw it, And after, in the rest of the Psalme, he doth bitterlie curse them; an argument of their finall incorrigiblenes. Tremellius expounds this verse de obstinato eorum studio seipsos confirmandi in malo. And these are in the 1 verse manipulus אָדָם a pack of vnjust men. As for that which he sayth *they degenerate or turne strange from the wombe;* it is brought in by way of a prouerbe as we say, *it soone prickes that wilbe a thorne.*

. 22. *Hearing in that place,* you say, *imports not a patient lending of the outward eare, but an obedient opening of the inward eare of the heart. The wicked will most of them sit in Gods house like his owne people. Herod will heare John Baptist willingly yet he himselfe was that deafe adder—In that sense the prophet takes the word hearken in that place.* That this place speakes not of the outward eare only, but the inward also I do easily grant, and was never of other minde; but the understanding hath inward eares besides those of the heart. Did our Sauiour when he said *He that hath eares to heare let him heare,* meane it thus, *he that hath an heart to obey let him obey?* The patient eare is that which giueth attentiue heede to the things spoken, marking and weighing what is said although it be harsh and offensive.

. 22. Your demand; *Or els may we thinck that the very patient hearing of it* (the word) *will serue the turne? Hath the word that power, or man dead in sinne rather that power, as upon the patient hearing of the word to raise himselfe up to newnes of life* is strange to me. Did I euer say that the very *patient hearing would serue the turne?* or that *man dead in sinne hath power vpon the patient hearing of the word to raise himselfe* to newnes of life?

The power in the voice of the Sonne of God, Joh. 5. 25, is able to raise the dead, The patient heareing of this voice puts a man more under the influence of that power, than him that cannot endure to heare it; And if the Poet durst promise touching Morall discipline

> Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator:
> nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
> si modo culturæ patientem accommodet aurem[1].

Shall I be affrayde to promise so much of Gods schoole in the use *of his worde by the concourse* of his spirit?

. 22. As to the place *Joh.* 8. 43. *Here* (you say) *our Saviour by hearing,* meanes *obeying* (non ἀκούειν at ὑπακούειν) as himselfe uses it afterward

[1] Hor. *Ep.* I. 1. 38.

verse 47, *He that is of God* heareth Gods words, i.e. obeyeth: *ye therefore heare them not*, i.e. obey them not, *because ye are not of God.* Giue me leaue here likewise to dissent from you. Our Sauiour speakes of the patient hearing of his doctrine. It had beene ἄνω ποταμοί[1] to say, ye do not *understande* because you cannot *obey.* But that is right order, ye do not understand ye cannot heare. See Oecumenius, Augustinus, Jansenius, Osiander, Deodati: whose wordes I will set downe. I know you will understand them; *perche vostra malignità non vi lascia esser attenti e docili alla mia dottrina.* And no otherwise would I interpret the 47th verse; nor that which is there quoted 1 *Joh.* 4. 6. Not that to heare doth not so signifie as you expound; and that often, as 1 Sam. 15. 22, שמע 'to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken then the fatt of rammes,' but because in these places the other which is *to attend* may suffice.

Nay, say you, *a patient outward hearing they gaue to this speech* pp. 22, 23. *it selfe, and many more of our Saviours. But for true and saving hearing*, i.e. obeying, *our Saviour denies them power thereto. And so this place makes against Freewill.* I answer,

The hearing, they gaue to speech was not very patient, as appeares by the 48 verse. But if you marke the text before verses 39 and 41 you shall see they had a hatefull minde to him, and cutt him off in the midest of his discourse, not suffering him to bring his purpose to an ende: as they did St Stephen, and St Paul, also Acts 22. 22. As for the word δύνασθε Chrysostom and Oecumenius tell us that τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι is put for τὸ μὴ θέλειν. So long as envy and a murthering minde governed them, they *could not* with patience heare his Speeches, nor consequently understand his language, λαλιάν. Thus it seemes to me, neither am I alone in the vnderstanding it thus.

You add, *If you will understand it of an outward patient hearing* p. 23. *only, then it quite overthrowes all naturall abilities to receiue the word by Fayth.* For if *he cannot so much as endure to heare it with the eare, how can he entertayne it into the heart? If we runne with footemen and are wearied, how shall we runne with horsemen and not be tyred?* How I do understand it, I haue shewed. And let it hardly ouerthrow all *naturall* abilityes to receiue the Word by Faith. That which is impossible to man is possible to God. Some of these when they had *lifted up the sonne of man*, verse 28, knew him to be the Sonne of God; and, which is more, their very crucifieing him becomes an argument to induce them to beleeue in him (Acts 2. 23). Gods purpose according to Election breakes through all these difficultyes.

Yet (say you) *I see not by your tenet that God doth anie thing more* p. 23. *for the Elect then for the rest.* Yet I signified both in speech and writing different enough, and you your selfe obserue it in the next wordes. *God opens the eares of his elect, and he will certainly do it;* and this speciall grace I plead for, as well as you.

[1] i.e. a reversing of natural order, Eurip. *Medea*, 408.

. 23. *This grace* (you say) *necessarily converts, and leaues not the worke to the arbitrary pleasure of the parties will, as my speciall concourse doth; which* (you say) *I make generally to accompany the outward Ministry of the word, and so leaue cause to thinck that the salvation of the Elect may be uncertaine.* Here I would first demand, Whether do you denie that there is such a *speciall concourse* of God with his worde as we haue spoken of, or that it doth *ordinarily* accompany the outward Ministry thereof? And if not, why do you call them *mine*, and assay now and then to make head against them, which are *your owne* as well as *mine*? If you do deny these, let that be our first issue; as in reason it ought, If you doubt only of the *extent*, and *effect* of this *speciall concourse*, let us seeke together; and possibly by our humble subjecting our selues to the meanes, and that very concourse, this goodly sparke of heauenly light shall shine vnto vs. To the matter in hand, This (*myne* or as I had rather say *Gods*) speciall concourse, which I thinck we *both* do confesse, leaveth not the worke of conversion to the parties arbitrary pleasure, otherwise then thus, that when he is converted, he is voluntarily and freely converted. It was expressely set downe in the First Paper, that *the Grace of Justifieing Fayth* (which I account all one with the Grace of conversion) *is a free gift of God transcendent not only to Gods former concourse but also to the former habits of Fayth of Assent, and illumination.* And how can that be uncertaine, which God out of his vnchangeable purpose will giue? Unlesse perhaps you respect the dutie of *calling vpon God*, or making request of the *Grace of conversion*, which they may neglect as well as those do that are not elected. But herein stands the speciall mercy of God to them, that he doth not cease by his word and the concourse of his Spirit thereto, and to the Grace already receiued (afflictions many tymes helpeinge hereunto) to excite and moue them, till at length notwithstanding all their naturall deafenes, blindnes, recklessnes, and dulnes, he prepares their wills in such manner as they desire the Grace which he hath purposed to giue them. In this point see the suffrage of our Brittish Divines at the Synode of Dort, Art. III. *De antecedaneis ad conversionem*, Thesis VII., whose opinion in this whole matter I do not vary from any whitt at all, as you may perceiue in that whole title.

. 24. The words in your first notes, upon which I reflected were these: *How can any get Faith by praying seeing he cannot pray unlesse he first haue Faith? he must haue what he askes, or else he cannot gett it. The encrease of Fayth and other Graces may be gott, but not the begining of Grace, for then the action of a man without Grace might procure Grace.* These were your wordes and thus pointed. To which I answered, that Fayth of Assent to the Principles of Christian doctrine is in deede, necessary to invocation, as the Apostle shewes Heb. 11, but this is not justifieing Fayth. This you grant now. But you say *a man cannot by that Faith or the prayer of that Fayth get justifieing Faith.* Why so? *Because God heares the Prayers of those only who are justified.* This

Assertion I thinck to be utterly untrue, against the holy Scripture and euident reason. You confirme it with this discourse: p. 24.

The person must first be pleasing to God in Christ before the prayer be pleasing. God had respect to Abel and his offering. First Abel, then his offering: and the person cannot be pleasing but in the Sonne in whom he is well pleased. And we cannot be in the Sonne but by a justifieing Faith. And therefore by the Prayer of Faith not justifieing, we cannot get justifieing Faith. Thus you. p. 24.

But first That the prayer should be pleasing to God, and *be heard or graunted of God*, are not all one, or convertible.

The prayer of the Israelites asking a King was heard of God yet it was *not pleasing*. Againe there is a double kind *of pleasing* both of persons and praiers; one *complete*, another in some *respect*; *as namely in that it is in order and tendeth to that which is complete*, which we may call of *acceptation*. I say then that before the person or prayer be *completely* pleasing, they may be allowed with some accceptation, as was the yong man and his answer, whom our Sauiour is said *to haue loued*, Mark 10. 21, and that other *to whome he said that he was not farre from the Kingdome of heauen*. Chap. 12. 34. Ahabs humiliation was so farre forth accepted of God as to prorogue the execution of Gods vengeance upon his house. The state of heauen and earth in the ende of euerie one of the 5 daies, was *good*, but incompleately; in respect of the goodnes and approbation of the 6th day: And thus in the new Creature the hearing the word, conferring of Scripture and (after illumination and Assent) *praying for Fayth*, or Christ's grace, do please God before a man be justified; in as much as they tend to justification; though not in that sort and degree as the prayers of a man that is already justified. Consider with me the historie of the Conversion of St Paule; he was stricken from his horse, blinded, neither ate nor druncke for 3 dayes; at last he *prayeth*; presently the Lord sends him Ananias, who exhorts him to baptisme, and washing away of his sinnes calling on *the name of the Lord* Acts 22. 16. This calling on the name of the Lord, and the prayer before Ananias was sent, I demand whether they were out of Justifieing Fayth or no. If so, how are his sinnes yet unpardoned. If not, but of the Faith of Assent only, then, it is cleare that such a prayer may be. Nay more it may be so *accepted* of God as thereupon he may send a Minister of reconciliation to restore the penitent, and may vouchsafe to bestow upon him the Fayth that justifies, and remission of sinnes. Here I will be bold also to communicate with you another consideration that comes to my minde as I was writing this. The persons of the Elect, before these prayers, are accepted of God out of the grace of Election, whereby they are destinated to Christ. As Christ sayth to Ananias, *Go thy way for he is a chosen vessell vnto me &c.* According to which sense the rule may be allowed, *the person must be accepted before the worke be accepted*, Prayer or anie other.

Your interpretation of Heb. 11. 6 is very sound. Neither did I intend to proove anie more from that place then this, that at least the Fayth of Assent is necessary to Prayer. Not that *this beleefe only will serue the* p. 24.

turne, He that comes to God (you say) *must beleeue that Christ is, and is his.* If this be so, then Christ cannot be called upon, or any prayer made unto God pleasing (according to your assertion) *till a man haue not only justifieing Fayth, but Faith of Gods promises or speciall Faith also.* Which I am affraid is not true. Consider St Pauls example before.

p. 24. Here you demand—admittinge a man by the Faith *of assent, and the prayer of it, may get justifieing Faith, how shall a man gett the faith of Assent which you allow rightly to be called a Grace supernaturall? He cannot get it by Prayer for there is no Faith in his Prayer. And if he haue it, why should he come to God for it? You take it absurd to say, a man must haue what he askes, or else he cannot get it, and so set it downe in your former answer* (you say) *as an absurdity, not as a Paradox defended by you.* This absurditie whose so euer it be, is none of mine, who did sufficiently in my first Paper distinguishe *Justifieing Faith* from the faith of Assent. But to our purpose. Though I did not take upon me at the first to answer euery question, nor did I euer so much as in a dreame say, *that a man must gett the Faith of Assent to the Principles of Christian doctrine by Prayer.* It seemes to me that the Apostle satisfies this Demand, when he sayth *Fayth is by hearing, and hearinge by the word of God*, Rom. 10. 17.

p. 25. *Invocation* (you say) *is not a worke of Nature, but of Grace; God must giue the spirit of Prayer to change nature, and stirre it up after a supernaturall manner.* But Faith of Assent you approved right now to be a supernaturall Grace, wrought by the Holy Ghost: The texts of Scripture *Rom.* 8, *Zach.* 12, 1 *Cor.* 6, and the authorityes of *Prosper*, the author de vocatione gentium, Fulgentius, Prosper againe, St Augustine, to

p. 26. proone *that by Prayer the unregenerate man cannot attaine the Fayth of Assent, nor by other endeavour of his owne, as hearing or reading the word* (I hope you meane without the speciall assistance of God, else I must tell you this runnes farre wide from Scripture) and all the rest of your discourse till you come to the differences of the Faith of *Assent*, and *justifieing*, I read with some patience, marvelling that either you should doubt of my assent to these things; or if you doubted not, would digresse from our question and paint this Cypresse.

p. 27. You say *a liuely Assent in the vnderstanding it selfe to the promise of God in Christ may be truely called justifieing Faith carrieing affiance and trust after it as the inseparable Effect thereof.* I am of your mind, for I hold no tropicall speech to be an untrue predication. But that Justifieing Fayth properly is in the heart, and hath for the object of it the *person of Christ* himselfe, and is that trust it selfe which you require to follow the Fayth of Assent, was once your opinion, vnlesse my memory do much faile me. Whether the Faith (Heb. 11) *be one and the same true Faith that workes all that is there set downe as one soule hath life, sense, and reason;* or is *nomen Æquivocum* including all the sorts and kinds of it, as the Assent to the Principles of Christian doctrine, Affiance, Faith of promises, and Miraculous acts I will not contend, so longe as wee agree it justifies only as it *embraces Christ.*

That Justifieing Faith is not the beginning of Grace I was occasioned p. 28.
to say, by your objecting *against the obtaining it by Prayer; that a man cannot get the begininge of Grace by Prayer.* Now since we are of accord in this point, the objection falls of it selfe

You admitt *that one degree of Grace may obtaine another, but require these two famous tenets of the Fathers against the enemies of Grace to be remembred, Gratia non secundum merita datur; et Gratia ad singulos actus datur.* I do firmely hold and beleeue them both. Concerning the former, I shewed my mind before. Touching this latter, I hold it as necessary to all supernaturall motions, as Gods common concourse to all naturall. But whether any habit of Grace (Especially after conversion) abiding in the soule, the Person not withstandinge may not produce an act without some new *impulse* I doubt and rather thincke yea then nay. Neither are such Actions done by *the helpe of nature in any degree*, otherwise then as *the subject* which must be the *Agent* performing these Acts; all the sufficiency is from God, as the Apostle speakes 2 Cor. 3. 5. 6.

Where you add, against it *is an inconvenience to grant that men in* p. 30.
grace should get more Grace then others by their owne labours though they haue no more grace from God then others. This assertion had need to be declared. For if *to get* be to *obtaine, by the meere liberality of God: and their owne labours their diligent actions or pacient sufferings, out of the ability which God gaue*, and those others be loyterers, which did not employ their talents; it seemeth to crosse that which you did in the beginning grant *to be orthodoxe doctrine* and to make men negligent and slouthfull in the worke of the lord.

If you mean no more but this, that *euery new degree of grace is a new gifft of God, as well as the first degree was*, it were impious to thincke otherwise. And this may very well stand with Gods constant rule, *Habenti dabitur*, i.e. ex gratia praeconcessa plus habere satagenti.

You add, the Apostle Paul *knew he could not labour more then his* p. 31.
fellowes unlesse he had receiued the oile of gladnes aboue his fellowes where to omitt the phrase, proper to Christ. In the sense which I conceiue you meane, it should be impossible for two that had receiued of God *equall* Grace, to labour *inequally*, which I hold to be inconvenient. For if the one worke according to the tallent and ability which God gaue; and the other be lesse diligent then he ought, (as euery mans hart I thincke beares him record that wee do not the good, not only which we might, but which we would), there must needes be inequality in the worke.

Where you say, *he adds by way of anticipation least anie man should* p. 31.
thinck he had cause to boast, that the sole and whole cause why he laboured more then they, was because it pleased *God to giue him more grace to stirre* him up to labour. I am of the mind that he speakes this by way of *correction*, because he might seeme to haue boasted in his owne industry, wherefore he refferrs (as was fitt) all to the Grace of God; not only *stirring him up* to labour (as you expound it) but *assisting the grace formerly* giuen to him, *subministring occasions, removing impediments* in the worke. Not as if he had not spoken properly, when he said 'I laboured'

(or it were not an improper speech to say the *Grace of God laboured*) but that all his industry was nothing to the worke in comparison of the sufficiency and assistance supplied by God.

p. 31. *Bellarmine*, you say, *doth not perswade you that St Augustine* (*Cap.* 15° *De gratia et libero Arbitrio*) *understands this place otherwise.* I do not understand what you meane by *otherwise.* If you meane that St Paul did not concurre with his Industry to the grace of God in St Augustines judgment reade the place (it is lib. citat Cap. 5°) *Non ego* ante *sed gratia Dei* mecum: id est non solus, sed gratia Dei *mecum*; ac per hoc nec gratia Dei sola, nec ipse solus, sed gratia Dei cum illo—Bellarmine adds quid clarius? and well he might for ought I see.

p. 31. But you are sure, *Faustus the Semipelagian is of Bellarmine his opinion therein*—Wherein? touching St Pauls meaning and St Augustines, as Bellarmine conceiues it? What then? as if the most detestable hereticks might not concurre in the expounding a place of Scripture with Orthodoxall Divines?—yea but

p. 31. *This assertion* (you say), *to vse the wordes of Maxentius in Epistola ad Hormisdam, Augustine himselfe so contradicts ut credas eum jam tunc non nisi contra scripta Fausti respondere.* Indeed these be Maxentius wordes in his Answer to an Epistle which he accomted to be forged under the name of Hormisda ad Possessorem. But these concerne another assertion, viz. Gratiam cum labore conjungendam, as if Faustus meaning hereby had beene this *initium fidei esse a nobis.* Which Assertion St Augustine largely refutes (1° lib. ad Hilarium et Prosperum), accordinge as Maxentius cites his workes; *Nolens ego tam claris testimoniis repugnare, & tamen* volens a seipso sibi esse *quod credit, quasi componit homo cum Deo, ut partem sibi fidei vindicet, atque illi partem relinquat. Et quod est elatius, primam sibi, sequentem dat illi: & in eo quod esse dicit amborum primum se facit, posteriorem Deum.* This is not the Assertion that *industry being adjoined to Grace a man may improue his Talent more to his Masters aduantage then his fellow servants which are not so industrious.* As for Faustus, though he were a Semipelagian and more, yet he gives the precedency to Grace. And that made Maxentius thus to object to himselfe in the next wordes. *Sed Faustus* (*inquiunt hi qui eum Catholicum conantur defendere*) *Primas partes non homini sed gratiæ Dei tribuit.* Then follow these wordes—which you shutt up this

pp. 31, 32. matter with all. *Nam Faustus in* 6to *ejusdem libri Capite, cum Apostoli sententiam dissereret, ita ait: Gratia Dei, inquit, sum id quod sum; primas partes soli gratiæ piè subjectus ascribit, media quaeque laboris magnitudine et obedientiæ deputat; utrumque in consummatione moderatus gratiam laboremque conjungit. Non dicit, ego sine gratia nec gratia sine me, sed gratia Dei mecum.* To which objection he thus answers *sed gratia cui hoc loco Faustus primas partes tribuit, non eam qua per Spiritum Sanctum fit ut verbo Dei forinsecus insonanti assensum præbeamus*, et obedientes efficiamur; sed *predicationem diuinorum asserit eloquiorum, ut videlicet Gratiæ sit quod nobis divina eloquia praedicantur, nostrum autem sit ut eidem prædicationi consen-*

tianus. But let us not wronge the Divell. In all that Chapter of there is not a word to this purpose. And certainly Faustus was i a babe, as when the Apostle testifies plainely, that *he had not his or his Gospell from man, nor was taught it, but had it by re from Jesus Christ*, to conceiue or affirme that the grace where ascribes his labour should be the vouchsafing him the outward he the preaching of the Gospell: that this could *be with him* and m *labour more then all the Apostles besides.*

But thus it often falls out, *Nimium altercando veritas a* Maxentius, and his fellow Monkes having beene shrewdly bra Hormisda, and finding him in the same Epistle *ad Possess* tollerate the reading of *Faustus* workes, labours by right or w prooue him impious, that he may make Hormisda odious. Whom I follow no longer in vaine, let us retourne into the way, treading b same steppes by which he led us out of it.

Faustus *doth make the Grace which was with St Paul to b preaching*—That is not so, by Maxentius leaue;

He challenges part of Fayth, and the first parte to man, an the latter to God: wherein he is so contradicted by St August a man would beleeue St Augustine had written against him.

That appeares not to be true neither.

At least he makes our industry to follow Gods Grace—That for so (sayth Bellarmine) *doth St Augustine.* Nay, let *not Bel persuade us that. Let us heare St Augustines owne wordes— voluntas sine gratia Dei putetur boni aliquid posse, contin dixisset,* "*Gratia eius in me vacua non fuit, sed plus omnil laboravi,*" *subjunxit, atque ait,* "*Non ego autem sed gratia Dei* *i.e. non solus, sed Gratia Dei mecum: ac per hoc, nec Gratia Dei ipse solus sed Gratia Dei cum illo.*

Heere giue me leaue (Good Mr Dr) to goe one stepp further shutt up this matter. Suppose that all Maxentius accuses Faust true; all that Bellarmine saith of Augustine be false. Say that A confutes in one place what he sayth expressely in another, what say to those expresse testimonies that call for our *labour indus diligence after Grace*, as 1 Tim. 1. 6, Stirre vp the gifft of God i shew the same diligence &c. to the end, with your former worke an of loue. Heb. 6. 10, 11, lift up the hands that hang downe, and th knees. Chap. 12. 12, 13, study to shew thy selfe a workman appr God, 2 Tim. 2. 15. Indure hardnes as a good soldier, verse 3, &c. ? W we say to all those places where God prooues his Children, as Abrah Hezechiah, Paul? If their industry out of the ability which he ha them already can do nothing, how can he prooue them? Nay if them a new impulse, if it be not resistible, how can he prooue If it be, there is place for industry; and of 2 that haue receiued t grace to stirre them up to labour, one may employ his Talent; th may loyter; which is the thing that I conceiue you denie, and the P from whence you fech that forme, do euidently prooue, let M Maxentius, Bellarmine and St Augustine say what they will.

p. 32. You conclude *with a large passage* of Vossius *who setteth downe as you say, the summe of all, with whome heerein you fully* content your selfe. I do joine with you, in Vossius determination in every letter and syllable. And sith we agree in the whole summe, I hope if we cast it ouer againe, we shall not much vary in the particulars. As for *reducing thinges to fewer pointes*, it may be done hereafter if we forbeare to draw out of Common places, and draw not other thinges to the points of difference which belonge not to them.

And for *Pelagianisme Semipelagianisme* and Arminianisme (to all which I say Anathema) if in your owne judgment, you doe absolue me from such not only worthlesse, but wicked opinions, do not I beseech you by accumulating testimonies against them, raise a suspicion in the mindes of those to whose hands so euer these papers do come, that my lippes speake wickednes, and my toung utters deceit: That secretly at least I nourish such monsters, to the quelling whereof your labour is intended. So with all thanckes for your loue and good opinion (which I am desireous to retaine, and answer with the like) I commend you to the Grace of God, and the Peace, which euermore according to the Apostles rule be moderator in our hearts, and keepe them in Christ Jesus. Amen.

[W. Bedell.]
written by Patrick Coddan
my Lds Register in his
Consistory.

NOTES.

p. 1 l. 5. Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 4, 25 *Crede mihi bene qui latuit bene vixit.*

p. 8 l. 19. *The Interdict.* See p. 230.

p. 10 l. 9. *Mr Wadsworth.* James Wadsworth a scholar of Emmanuel College (1584), afterwards rector of Pakefield in Suffolk. In 1605 he went to Spain as chaplain to Sir Charles Cornwallis, where he was converted to Roman Catholicism. His correspondence with Bedell and Hall was printed in 1624, a year after his death at Madrid. He was English Tutor to the Infanta Maria, on the proposed match with Charles.

p. 15 l. 31. *Sir Thomas Jermin.* Father of Henry Jermyn, the celebrated Earl of St Albans, reputed to have married Henrietta Maria after the death of Charles I.

p. 16 l. 8. *Dr Jegon.* *John Jegon*, fellow of St John's, Master of Corpus Christi, Cambridge, Dean and afterwards Bishop of Norwich 1602—1618.

p. 19 l. 3. Mr Perkins, see p. 4 l. 9. William Perkins (1555—1602, fellow of Christ's College and lecturer at Great St Andrew's, was not only a very popular preacher and teacher among the Puritans, but a voluminous author of Calvinistic Theology. Among other works was that here mentioned—*A direction for the Government of the Tongue according to God's Word*, Cambr. 1593, 1595.

p. 25 l. 20. Bedell's Statutes, still preserved in a thin MS. volume in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with his autograph.

p. 26 l. 39. *Bellarmine.* Robert Bellarmine, b. in Tuscany, 1542, Jesuit 1560, Professor of Theology at Louvain 1770—1777,

Cardinal 1559, Archbishop of Capua 1602—1605, d. at Rome, 1621. He was a voluminous author both of Controversial works against Protestantism, and of sermons and letters.

p. 28 l. 39. *Chimier*, a kind of cope, worn by Bishops as a convocation robe. Italian *zimarra*. Till the time of Elizabeth Bishops wore a scarlet chimere over the rochet. It was then changed to black satin.

p. 29 l. 8. *Polonian heels* refers to some fashion of boots from Bologna. Thus a *Polony* is a Bologna sausage.

p. 33 l. 20. Vergil, *Aen.* 1, 199.

p. 37 l. 10. *Kerns.* Irish *ceatharnach*, 'soldier.'

p. 37 l. 35. *Dr Bernard.* Nicholas Bernard, dean of Kilmore 9 Oct. 1627. He exchanged to Ardagh in 1637, became preacher of Gray's Inn 1651, and chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. He published a sermon on the life and death of Archbishop Ussher in 1656. In 1660 he was presented to the living of Whitchurch in Shropshire, and the year before published 'Certain Discourses, to which is added a Character of Bishop Bedell.' He died in 1661.

p. 38 l. 24. *vivit* etc. Ovid, *Trist.* I. 3. 12.

p. 59 l. 25. *The 23rd of October* 1641. This was the day fixed upon for the surprise of Dublin Castle. But the lords justices got wind of it and arrested on that morning the leaders McMahon and Lord Maguire.

p. 85 l. 20. *K. James's book.* This was the 'Triplici nodo triplex Cuneus. *An apologie for the oath of allegiance against the two Breves of Pope Paulus Quintus and the Letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to G. Blackwel the Archpriest.*' *Lond.* 1607; *in Latin, Lond.* 1607; *in French, Lond.* 1609.

p. 97 l. 18. *P. Harris.* A Roman Catholic priest, who defended the rights of the seculars against the Franciscans. Among his works was 'A book against Archbishop Ussher's Sermon preached at Wansted before James I.' He died about 1635.

p. 98 l. 25. *Capon...Jewel.* John Solcot or Capon was translated from Bangor to Salisbury in 1539, and was succeeded by John Jewel in 1559. Jewel died in 1571.

p. 147 l. 19. *Lysimachus Nicanor*, by John Corbet, a Scotch clergyman, who being deposed by the Assembly fled to Ireland, where he published *The Epistle dedicatory of Lysimachus Nicanor of the Society of Jesus to the Covenanters in Scotland wherein is paralleled our sweet Harmony and Correspondence in Doctrine and Practice.* He was killed in the rebellion of 1641.

p. 161 l. 27. Verg. *Aen.* I 118.

p. 165 l. 11. Jeremiah ix 1.

p. 163 l. 6. Livy IX 3 *ista quidem sententia ea est quae neque amicos parat neque inimicos tollit.*

p. 298 l. 3. *Valtaline* etc. *A discourse upon the reasons of the Resolution taken in the Valteline against the Tyranny of the Grisons and Heretiques, translated* (from Father Paulo) *by Sir Thomas Roe.* Lond. 1628. 4to.

p. 340 l. 6. The Letters Patent are in *State Papers Ireland* under date, December 1630.

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AUG 31 1918

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY J. AND C. F. CLAY, AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.